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ABSTRACT

Designed to examine the experiences of writing teachers and their students in the United States and the United Kingdom, a comparative study administered questionnaires to "successful" teachers and secondary school students and conducted observational studies in a small number of classrooms in both countries. The sample of 560 U.S. teachers was gathered through the National Writing Project (NWP), which yearly identifies successful local teachers. Each teacher was asked to select two high achieving and two low achieving students to answer the questionnaire, with 715 students responding. In the U.K., 218 teachers were surveyed from a variety of geographical areas, grade levels, and types of schools, and 244 student questionnaires were administered. Topics for the teacher questionnaires included: (1) teacher training; (2) teaching conditions; (3) length of time, amount, and length of writing; (4) teachers' reasons for teaching writing; (5) teaching practices; (6) types of writing taught; and (7) keys to achieving success. The student questionnaire covered school leaving age, grading and examinations, amount of writing, and students' opinions about their teachers' practices. Results showed that U.K. teachers were student-centered while U.S. teachers were curriculum-centered. The U.K. teachers emphasized imaginative writing, while U.S. teachers emphasized analytic writing and critical thinking. Teachers from both countries believed in individualizing instruction, and students were optimistic about their educational opportunities. Observational studies are still in progress. (Three figures and 15 tables of data are included, and 39 references are appended.) (MM)

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Center for the Study of Writing

Technical Report No. 14

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The United Kingdom and the United States

Sarah Warshauer Freedman
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NATIONAL SURVEYS OF SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS OF WRITING AND THEIR STUDENTS: THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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BACKGROUND

In 1968, two years after the Anglo-American Dartmouth Conference (see Dixon, 1967 and 1975 for the British reports of that conference, and Muller, 1967 for the U.S. point of view), the U.S. Department of Education sponsored Squire and Applebee's (1968) status survey of the teaching of English in the United States and Great Britain. Squire and Applebee introduce their study in the following way: "Though the two countries share a common language, no detailed study of the teaching of English in Britain and the United States has yet been published" (p. 8). Since their report almost twenty years ago, no update has appeared.

Squire and Applebee's (1968) study included observations in the classrooms of 42 schools, both private and state-supported, in England, Scotland, and Wales. These U.K. classrooms were compared with classrooms in 158 U.S. high schools. Squire and Applebee found sharp contrasts, particularly with respect to the teaching of writing. The authors note:

> One of the major insights gleaned from the study of these [U.K.] schools is an awareness of the contribution which expressive uses of language can make to skill in using the language in all contexts. After their observations in these schools, few members of the project staff would challenge J.N. Hook's conclusion that "Americans err in stressing expository writing so greatly, especially with young children." (p. 324)

In the U.K. Squire and Applebee also observed more writing across the curriculum, less stress on formal language study and direct teaching, and more stress on fluency and practice (pp. 2, 183-190, 325-326). They also found more frequent informal conferences about writing between students and teachers in the course of a school day filled with more frequent breaks (e.g., morning coffee and longer lunch periods) and more sharing of written work with peer audiences than in the U.S. (pp. 194-199). The U.S. schools showed a predominant pattern of "write-correct-revise," the corrections being red-ink notations written by the teacher. In the U.K. they found instead little in the way of teachers' written corrections or student revisions after marking; rather the U.K. teachers opt for "less frequent annotation and more extensive writing" (p. 192). Finally, for the U.K. they gave a "rather favorable assessment of programs for slow learners or non-college students . . . in light of the failure of most American English programs to deal adequately and imaginatively with this problem" (p. 62). Squire and Applebee concluded that U.S. schools could benefit from the U.K. example.

Fast upon the heels of the Dartmouth conference and soon after Squire and Applebee completed their study, a revolution in writing theory and research began to take root in both countries. In the U.S. Emig (1971) published her work on the writing process, while in England Dixon (1967), Barnes, Britton, and Rosen (1969), and Britton and his colleagues (1975) were presenting ideas with major implications for changes in practice. In the meantime, schools were undergoing substantial changes (see Squire and Britton's introduction to the 1975 edition of Dixon's *Growth through English* for a review of some of those changes on both sides of the Atlantic). In essence, in Britain extensive reforms of the schools were brought about by the almost total abolition of the 11-plus examination and by the establishment of comprehensive secondary schools. The usual age for completing school rose from 15 to 16. Trends in Britain today continue toward democratization of education. However, conservative tendencies are still in place, such as the national examination system and a tradition of private education for the upper and now upper-middle classes. The 1987 Education Bill, at present before Parliament, proposes extensive changes in U.K. education, including a national curriculum and mandatory testing programs beginning at age seven, as well as the possibility for national rather than local financing and control of education. If passed, this Bill will once again redirect British education in a potentially conservative direction.

In the United States, although the formal structures of schooling have changed little, philosophies have changed a great deal. The Viet Nam War drained resources and attention away from education to other national priorities. More recently, the country has seen a trend toward accountability and "basic" education, some argue at the expense of higher level standards. In the area of writing, the National Writing Projects and other more local in-service programs for teachers, coupled with vigorous research activity, are working toward a national goal of higher standards of literacy. Finally, calls for a more professional and literate teaching force and for rewards for excellence in teaching are coming from the wider educational community (e.g., Boyer, 1983; Carnegie Forum, 1986; Goodlad, 1984; Holmes Group, 1986; Sizer, 1984).

The effects of these changes on written language instruction in the U.S. and in the U.K. are largely unknown. The only recent cross-cultural project focusing on written language has been the international study of achievement in written composition, initiated in 1980 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement through the International Education Association (IEA) (Degenhart, 1987; Gorman, et al., in press; Gubb, et al., 1987). The IEA studies are designed primarily to compare the writing of students in 14 different countries, including the U.S. and the U.K. Although an individual country report has been published in the U.K. (Gubb et al., 1987), no cross-cultural comparisons have been completed, and the U.K. report only considers fifteen-year-old students. No report is available from the U.S. Besides being in progress, the IEA studies are limited because they are designed primarily to yield comparative information about student achievement rather than about teaching and learning. Some information about teaching and learning was gleaned through questionnaires for students, teachers, and school personnel.

Other relatively current information is available from status surveys about usual classrooms in both the U.S. (Graves, 1978 for elementary; Applebee, 1981 for secondary; Applebee, Langer, & Mullis' National Assessment of Educational Progress reports, 1986a, 1986b, 1987) and the U.K. (Bullock, 1975; Medway, 1986; Gubb et al., 1987). These studies show a rather dismal picture on both sides of the Atlantic: too much stress on mechanics in both countries, students performing poorly on more complex tasks in the U.S., and students denied opportunities for discursive writing and given insufficient

feedback in the U.K. Direct comparisons are difficult to make though because these studies are not based on information that has been gathered in a parallel way in both countries. Besides lacking parallel data, we also lack information about more successful teaching in the two countries.

In this project we aim to learn about written language from the collective experiences of these two major English-speaking countries, both of which have a long tradition of concern about literacy. We focus on especially successful practice so that we can discover and compare not just what is, but what is possible in the teaching and learning of written language in the U.S. and U.K. We also make some comparisons between these samples and more usual samples in the two countries since some items on these questionnaires are identical to items on Applebee's (1981) U.S. questionnaires and similar to those on Gubb et al.'s (1986) U.K. questionnaire.

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

This study consists of (a) parallel national questionnaires of successful teachers and their secondary students in the U.S. and the U.K., and (b) observational studies in a small number of classrooms in both countries. Only the results of the national questionnaires will be reported here. The observational studies are in progress.

The questionnaires are designed to provide general, self-report information from a broad sample about what happens inside classrooms, from the points of view of teachers and, at the secondary level, their students. Besides yielding general information about the teaching and learning of writing in the U.S. and the U.K., the results from these questionnaires provide focus for the observational studies.

In the U.S. the questionnaires were distributed in 1984 as part of a study of response to student writing. Results are reported in Freedman (1987). In the U.K. the questionnaires were distributed in 1986. As we report the U.K. results, we compare them with the U.S. results.

The questionnaires address the following:

1. How do successful teachers of writing in the U.S. and the U.K. characterize their training? the teaching conditions at their schools?

2. How often and how much do their students write?

3. What are their reasons for teaching writing?

4. What are their teaching practices?

    a. What types of writing do they teach?
    b. What activities in their classrooms are most frequent? most successful?
    c. How do they respond to their students' writing?

5. How do they think they achieve their success?

6. At the secondary level, how do their students' opinions compare with their opinions?

PROCEDURES FOR SELECTING THE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

The United States

The sample of successful teachers for the U.S. was gathered through the National Writing Project (NWP) network of site directors who every year identify successful local teachers to participate in summer invitational programs. These teachers become consultants to the Writing Project and offer workshops for other teachers. Each of the 116 NWP site directors[1] was sent a letter asking for the names of six of the most outstanding teachers of writing in his or her region, two at the elementary level (grades K-6), two at the junior high level (grades 7-9), and two at the senior high level (grades 9-12). Ninth grade overlaps the junior and senior high sample because of the variable organization of American schools, with ninth grade part of either junior high/middle school or senior high school.

Each teacher was sent a survey and an explanatory letter. One of the junior and one of the senior high teachers from each site was selected randomly to help gather the student sample. They were asked to select four of their students, two high achieving and two low achieving, with each pair including one male and one female. These two teachers, then, also received four surveys for students. This procedure yielded a U.S.-based sample of 560 teachers and 715 students.

The United Kingdom

Gathering a parallel U.K. sample proved complex. Since the British National Writing Project (BNWP) was established during the 1985-86 academic year, we at first thought we could replicate the U.S. procedures. However, being new, the BNWP involved too few teachers to provide an adequate national sample. Also, unlike the U.S. NWP, the BNWP does not systematically identify successful teachers as participants. Instead, the BNWP involves interested teachers from a number of Local Education Authorities (LEAs) who work together for an extended period of time on a theme area of special interest. (The LEAs govern state-supported primary and secondary schools in England and Wales.) Thus, in an attempt to match the U.S. sample, we had to turn to other U.K. networks.

After consulting a number of professionals in education in the U.K., we developed a plan for selecting a "successful" national sample of teachers of writing from geographically diverse areas of Britain and from diverse kinds of schools. The primary source for the sample was the National Association of Advisers in English (NAAE). It represents all state-supported primary and secondary schools in England and Wales. Apart from being discipline specific and decreasing our chances of getting a cross-curricular sample, NAAE proved an especially good organization to go through since each LEA employs an English Adviser to work with teachers in the LEA. These Advisers, who were at one time teachers and then were likely to have been department heads, are selected from candidates who compete for the post nationally. They must be well-respected, expert teachers who are also known authorities in the teaching of their subject area. They are able to identify successful teachers in their LEA since their main duties include: (a) conducting and organizing in-service programs in the local schools, (b) negotiating national educational policies (e.g., the examination system is being changed and the advisers are negotiating these changes within their LEAs), (c) advising administrators in the evaluation of teachers, (d) aiding new teachers ("probationers"), and (e) writing reports for the Local Educational Committee (roughly equivalent to the U.S. school board) to keep that Committee informed of local events and to recommend action regarding teachers in their particular subject area.

We selected Advisers through the NAAE executive board, which consists of one representative from each of eight geographical regions in England and in Wales: London and the Southeast; the Southwest; the North; West Midlands; East Midlands; Yorkshire and Humberside; East; and the Northwest. Each member of the board agreed to select three English Advisers within his or her region who could each be asked to recommend six teachers for the survey. The eight executive board members were to send names of the 24 selected Advisers to Mr. Barry Moorhouse, Chairperson of the association, who would send the names to McLeod. McLeod then would send a letter from Freedman and himself to each of the nominated Advisers requesting the names of six teachers: two primary, two lower secondary (Forms 1-3), and two upper secondary (Forms 4-Upper 6).[1] This procedure should have yielded the names of 144 teachers.

Other networks allowed us to collect samples from: (a) Scotland (the Scottish Curriculum Development Service for 24 nominees from state-supported and independent primary and secondary schools); (b) various parts of the private sector in England (the Headmaster's Conference for eight nominees from secondary schools for boys; the Girls' Schools Association for eight nominees from secondary schools for girls; the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools for eight nominees from primary schools for girls and boys; and recommendations of national authorities on education for eight nominees from alternative private primary and secondary schools); and (c) a supplementary group of eight nominees from state-supported schools in the densely populated London area (recommendations of national authorities on education).

In the end, we requested the names of 218 teachers representing a variety of geographical areas, grade levels, and types of schools. The numbers requested from each network depended on the proportion of the U.K. school population that the source represented and our estimate of the return rate for that population. Private schools were oversampled because we had the weakest links to the networks of private schools and expected a low return rate, and because we wanted to represent the different types of U.K. private schools. (Private schools make up approximately 6.1% of U.K. schools [*DES Statistical Bulletin*, April, 1987]; 18% of the teachers we contacted taught in private schools.)

Students were selected in the U.K. just as they were in the U.S.; a randomly selected half of the secondary teachers was asked to distribute questionnaires to four students, two higher achieving and two lower achieving, and within each category one male and one female if the school enrolled both genders.

Comparability

Although we made every attempt to parallel the U.S. and the U.K. samples, because of the different networks that we used in the two countries, the two samples are undoubtedly different. Most notably, the U.S. teachers identify themselves as teachers of writing. In most cases, because of their connection with the NWP network and their local site, they have become used to being looked to by other teachers and educators as specialists in teaching writing. They also are likely to read NWP publications and to have a common national professional reference point that keeps them informed about current trends in the teaching and learning of writing. In the U.K. teachers are likely to identify themselves as teachers of English at the secondary level. Primary teachers would probably think of themselves simply as classroom teachers, but many of those in our sample would also be likely to claim a particular interest in language development. The focus on written language has been strong within the teaching of English at least

since the 1920s if not longer. Interest in writing in all subjects in the secondary curriculum has grown considerably in the past twenty years, especially since the publication of Barnes et al.'s *Language, the Learner and the School* in 1969 and the Bullock report in 1975. Writing in the whole curriculum is one of the main concerns of the British National Writing Project (BNWP), but the questionnaires for our study were distributed just as the BNWP was beginning. Thus, this special focus on writing would not have had much time to take effect in the U.K. schools. In both countries, at the secondary level, the sample selection procedures yielded over 90% English teachers.

Also, in the U.K. professional leaders are reluctant to identify particular teachers as especially successful, and teachers themselves are uncomfortable about being so labeled. This cultural value made it difficult to ask directly for the sample we wanted and made it difficult to know if, in the end, we were obtaining a sample of especially successful teachers.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FORMS

Different but parallel questionnaires were developed for elementary and secondary teachers, and for students, who talk about the educational process in less technical language than their teachers. For the U.K. survey, the U.S. questionnaires were revised for a U.K. audience. Copies of the U.S. forms can be found in Freedman, 1987, pp. 173-199, and of the U.S. and U.K. forms in Freedman and McLeod, 1987, Appendix A. Forms were pretested in both countries.

Revisions for the U.K. included changes in word choice and syntax as well as the addition of several items that were designed to capture particularities of the British cultural experience. With all lexical and syntactic revisions, the goal was to preserve the original meaning and to make lexical and syntactic choices that would not stand out as particularly American and that would honor British politeness conventions. For example, the British word "pupil" was substituted for the American "student." Items new to the U.K. forms asked about aspects of education not found in the U.S., such as the British examination system.

PROCEDURES FOR CONDUCTING SURVEYS

Procedures for mailing surveys to U.K. teachers and students were parallel to those used by Freedman (1987, pp. 13, 46) for the U.S. sample except that offices in two countries were involved. McLeod gathered the names and addresses of the U.K. teachers at the British office at the University of London Institute of Education. He then transferred the information to the U.S. office at the University of California at Berkeley by computer network, and the U.S. team mailed all materials to the U.K. teachers who returned them directly to the U.S.

As for the U.S. group, surveys were sent with an explanatory letter and with a stamped, return envelope. Student forms came with individual envelopes which the students sealed. The students then gave their sealed envelopes to their teacher who mailed them in one packet. In both countries survey collection was completed approximately two and one half months after the first mailings.

RESPONSE RATES

In the U.S., the NWP site directors proved extraordinarily helpful in nominating teacher-participants, with 90.5% giving names. In the U.K., we received 179 teacher nominees, 82% of the 218 requested names. This nomination rate was excellent considering that we had to use a number of different networks in the U.K. and that our ties to those networks were looser than those to the NWP in the U.S.

As planned, a subset of the U.K. secondary teacher sample (61 of the 90 secondary teachers or 68%) received questionnaires for four of their students. In all, 244 pupil questionnaires were sent.

The U.S. teacher return rates were 87% as compared to 75.4% in the U.K., with a higher rate of 80.1% for the U.K. state schools. The private school return rate of 54.6%, although low, was higher than expected given our loose ties to private school networks. In the end, 13.3% of the sample was private; thus, the private schools are overrepresented since only 6.1% of the school population in the U.K. is private. The U.K. student return rates were 76.6%.

In general, 50% is considered an adequate return for mail surveys, 60% is considered good, and 70% or over is considered very good (Babbie, 1973, p. 165). In his survey of U.S. secondary teachers, Applebee (1981) reports an overall return of 68%, with a higher rate of 75% from English teachers (p. 20); thus, the U.K. return rates, although lower than Freedman's U.S. rates, were quite satisfactory.

Many U.K. teachers who did not respond seemed to have good reasons. A number wrote special letters to let us know that they were involved in union actions. Those who did participate were generous with their time. Many included lengthy explanations about answers to questions. A number indicated that they enjoyed participating. One U.K. secondary teacher remarked, "May I say, I think doing this questionnaire has helped me focus my ideas." A U.K. primary teacher revealed:

> I think that by answering your questionnaire I can see that I do not share *pupils'* writing enough--although I had intended to when I started this job a year ago. I also realise that I have been thinking about my responses for a long time and yet I could not fill in this form while I was thinking. That is why I have taken so long to reply. I have been thinking about my teaching of writing.

TEACHER RESULTS

Teacher Training

Teachers receive different training in the U.S. and the U.K. (Table 1). In the U.K., at both the primary and secondary level, teachers are more likely than in the U.S. to major in an academic discipline (English) rather than in education. The trend is more pronounced at the secondary level in both countries.

U.S. teachers are much more likely than U.K. teachers to have or be working on M.A. degrees. In both countries, secondary teachers are more likely than primary teachers to hold the M.A.

TABLE 1

Training of Sampled Teachers

	Percent of Teachers Reporting			
US UK	Primary (n=191) (n=43)	Secondary (n=369) (n=90)	All (n=560) (n=135)	Chi-Square test [a]
Undergrad. or certificate major: [b]				
US English	12.6	61.2	44.7	a) 212.95***
UK English	43.8	80.3	73.9	(df=7)
US Education	61.6	10.6	27.9	b) 16.57**
UK Education	12.5	3.9	5.4	(df=6)
US Other	25.8	28.2	27.4	
UK Other	43.8	15.8	20.7	
US	(n=190)	(n=369)	(n=559)	
UK	(n=16)	(n=76)	(n=92)	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK	17.40*** (df=2)	10.18** (df=2)	31.26*** (df=2)	
US MA Yes	52.1 (n=190)	67.5 (n=369)	62.3 (n=559)	a)12.62*** (df=1)
UK MA Yes	2.3 (n=44)	31.8 (n=88)	22.0 (n=132)	b)13.26*** (df=1)
Chi-square tests US vs. UK	34.25*** (df=1)	36.37*** (df=1)	68.28*** (df=1)	
US Working on	55.6 (n=90)	59.5 (n=116)	57.8 (n=206)	a) .320 (df=1)
UK Working on	14.0 (n=43)	16.9 (n=59)	15.7 (n=102)	b) .02 (df=1)
Chi-square tests US vs. UK	18.99*** (df=1)	26.88*** (df=1)	47.37*** (df=1)	

[a] When there are two Chi-square tests, the first (a) compares the U.S. primary and secondary teachers and the second (b) compares the U.K. primary and secondary teachers.

[b] For the three questions asking teachers about their major, there were originally eight categories on the US surveys and seven on the UK. Since relatively few teachers in either country majored in any discipline other than English or education (with the exception of the UK primary teachers), the remaining categories for major were collapsed into the category "other" for purposes of reporting percentages and comparing across countries. For the Chi-square tests, all categories were used, and so there are seven degrees of freedom for the US and six for the UK.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Teaching Conditions

The secondary teachers in the U.K. report teaching more classes than their U.S. counterparts (Table 2). Major classes like English or math generally

TABLE 2
Characteristics of the Secondary Classes

Percent of Teachers Reporting		Usual secondary teacher
Normal class load		
4 classes or below	US	5.4
	UK	1.6
5 classes	US	66.7
	UK	23.8
6 classes	US	26.9
	UK	44.4
7 classes or above	US	1.1
	UK	30.2
	US	(n=279)
	UK	(n=63)
Chi-square test US vs. UK		160.75*** (df=9)

		All Classes	Selected Class
Class Status			
Required	US	68.0	69.5
	UK	78.8	91.9
Option in required area	US	18.0	17.9
	UK	4.7	4.7
Elective	US	14.0	12.6
	UK	16.3	3.5
	US	(n=369)	(n=364)
	UK	(n=90)	(n=86)
Chi-square tests US vs. UK			17.97*** (df=2)

		All Classes	Selected Class
Class length			
More than 2 years	US	na	na
	UK	6.8	10.71
2 years	US	na	na
	UK	43.8	41.7
One year	US	75.6	75.5
	UK	45.6	45.2
One term or less	US	20.3	21.5
	UK	3.5	2.4
Other	US	4.1	3.0
	UK	.2	0
	US	(n=369)	(n=367)
	UK	(n=90)	(n=84)

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

meet five days (approximately five hours) a week in the U.S. and only three to four days (approximately three to four hours) a week in the U.K. Since classes meet less frequently in the U.K., teachers tend to teach more separate classes. Thus, these figures do not necessarily mean that U.K. teachers have heavier teaching loads than U.S. teachers.

In the U.K. there are more required classes than in the U.S.; electives within major subjects such as English are unusual in the U.K. sample.

Teachers in the U.K. often keep the same class of students for more than one year, frequently for two years or more. The U.S. questionnaires did not ask teachers whether they keep their class longer than a year since this practice is so rare. In fact, in the U.S. it is relatively common for secondary teachers to keep the same group for only a semester; in the U.K. keeping students for such a short time is highly unusual. These practices cannot be compared statistically since the original questions contained different categories for the U.S. and U.K. samples. It is of interest that Gubb et al. (1987) find that with their U.K. sample, "Two-thirds of the teachers reported that this was their second year with the group assessed and a further 11 per cent said they had taught the class for longer. This is what one might expect in terms of the two-year preparation for final school examinations" (p. 113).

In both countries, the elementary teachers report using computers in their classes significantly more than the secondary teachers do (Table 3). Computers are more commonly used in U.K. primary schools than in U.S. primary schools. However, at the secondary level, computers are more commonly used by the U.S. teachers than the U.K. teachers. Since the U.S. questionnaires were conducted two years before the U.K. questionnaires, the U.S. figures are likely lower than they would be had they been collected at the time of the U.K. questionnaires.

In the primary classrooms teachers report significantly more non-native speakers of English in the U.K. (10.6%) than in the U.S. (5.1%). For the U.K. secondary teachers, the percentage of non-native speakers is 7.2%. Within either country, the percentage of non-native speakers does not differ significantly from elementary to secondary school. Gubb and her colleagues (1987) in the U.K. show a similar figure of 7% for non-native speakers for fifteen-year-olds (p. 108).

Median class size, which ranges from 25 to 29, does not differ in the U.S. and the U.K. However, in both the U.S. and the U.K., primary classes are significantly larger than the usual secondary class.

Primary schools are smaller than secondary schools in both countries, with U.K. primary schools, which only go up to the equivalent of grade 5 and which are often split into infant (K-1) and junior schools (grades 2-5), smaller than their U.S. counterparts, which go to grade 6. The U.K. secondary schools, housing the equivalent of grades 6-12, however, are no larger than their U.S. equivalents which normally house no more than four grade levels (grades 9-12).

The teachers in both countries perceive their students as able, but the U.K. secondary teachers rate their students as more able than the U.K. primary teachers do. Since the question about ability level was asked differently and had a different number of categories on the U.S. elementary teachers' form, no statistical comparisons can be made which involve these teachers.

The students come from families that generally have the basic necessities or are well-to-do, with more well-to-do and fewer poverty-level families represented in the U.K. than the U.S., and with more poverty-level students at the primary than the secondary level in both countries.

TABLE 3

Comparisons between Elementary and Secondary Classes

		Percent of Teachers Reporting			
		Elementary (n=191) / (n= 45)	Secondary (n=369) / (n=90)		
			All Classes	Selected Class	Tests of significance a
Use computer	US	44.2 (n=185)	19.5 (n=369)	21.1 (n=365)	Chi-square a) 32.16*** (df=1)
	UK	68.9 (n=45)	8.5 (n=90)	9.5 (n=84)	b) 46.19*** (df=1)
Chi-square tests US vs. UK		7.78** (df=1)	4.20* (df=1)	5.23* (df=1)	
Percent non-native speakers of English taught	US	5.1 (n=186)		5.4 (n=366)	T-tests a) -.20 (df=334)
	UK	10.59 (n=44)		7.17 (n=90)	b) 1.20 (df=132)
T-tests US vs. UK		-2.21* (df=228)		-1.23 (df=454)	

		Medians				Chi-square tests b
		Elementary teachers	Secondary teachers		All teachers	
			Usual Class	Focal Class		
Class size	US	26.41 (n=182)	24.98 (n=367)	26.46 (n=361)	25.44 (n=549)	a) 18.83*** (df=1) b) 3.51 (df=1)
	UK	29.00 (n=43)	25.00 (n=90)	25.00 (n=90)	26.00 (n=133)	c) 45.39*** (df=1) d) 19.57 *** (df=1)
Chi-squares US vs. UK		1.44 (df=1)	—	0 (df=1)	.03 (df=1)	

Excellent					
Under 500	US	60.1	19.2	33.4	a) 117.46*** (df=3)
	UK	88.9	12.2	35.6	
500 - 999	US	33.0	36.2	35.1	b) 65.04*** (df=2) b
	UK	11.1	45.1	34.7	
1000 - 2499	US	6.9	42.1	29.9	
	UK	—	42.7	29.7	
2500+	US	0	2.5	1.7	
	UK	—	—	—	
	US	(n=188)	(n=354)	(n=542)	
	UK	(n=36)	(n=82)	(n=118)	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK		16.04*** (df=3)	7.69 (df=3)	7.12 (df=3)	

TABLE 3--*Continued*

	Percent of Teachers Reporting			
	Elementary (n=191) US; (n= 45) UK	Secondary (n=369) US; (n=90) UK		
		All Classes	Selected Class	Tests of significance d
Ability level of students				Chi-square
Above average				
US	33.2	32.5	25.2	a) —
UK	11.1	32.9	34.9	
Average				b) 15.89++ (df=3)
US	43.7	24.8	25.5	
UK	35.6	23.6	15.1	
Below average				
US	21.2	14.4	13.5	
UK	6.7	14.4	17.4	
Mixed				
US	—	28.3	25.8	
UK	46.7	29.0	32.6	
US	(n=187)	(n=369)	(n=364)	
UK	(n=43)	(n=90)	(n=86)	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK	—	.005 (df=3)	5.16 (df=3)	

Student Socioeconomic Status

	Average Percent of Teachers Reporting Student Income at Each Level			
	Primary (n=191) US; (n=45) UK	Secondary (n=369) US; (n=90) UK	All (n=560) US; (n=135) UK	T-tests e Prim vs Sec
Student SES e in selected class				
Well-to-do				
US	30.0	35.86	33.8 7	
UK	40.0	48.43	45.60	a)-1.88 (df=376)
				b)-1.16
T-tests US vs. UK	-1.64 (df=228)	-3.04++ (df=451)	-3.39+++ (df=681)	(df=130)
Basic necessities				
US	57.13	56.24	56.54	
UK	50.16	46.77	47.90	a) .38 (df=379)
				b) .51
T-tests US vs. UK	1.26 (df=228)	2.45+ (df=451)	2.73++ (df=681)	(df=130)
Less than basics				
US	12.77	8.09	9.67	
UK	9.89	4.80	6.49	a) 3.07++ (df=283)
US	(n=186)	(n=365)	(n=551)	b) 2.04+
UK	(n=44)	(n=88)	(n=132)	(df=130)
T-tests US vs. UK	.92 (df=228)	2.15+ (df=451)	2.15+ (df=681)	

a When there is more than one Chi-square or t-test, the first (a) compares the US primary and secondary teachers; the second (b) compares the UK primary and secondary teachers.

b The first median test (a) compares the US elementary class with the usual US secondary class; the second (b) compares the US elementary class with the focal US secondary class at the secondary teacher's school; the third (c) compares the UK primary class with the usual secondary class; the fourth (d) compares the UK primary class with the focal UK secondary class at the secondary teacher's school. Medians rather than averages are used here because the range of class sizes for the US elementary sample was great; those reporting extremely large class sizes were likely resource teachers.

c There are only two degrees of freedom because no UK schools had more than 2500 enrollment.

d The first test of significance (a) compares the US elementary classes with the secondary US selected classes. The second (b) compares the UK elementary classes with the secondary UK selected classes.

e Since the answers for SES (socio-economic status) were originally reported in percentages, t-tests were computed for each level of the variable.

Length of Time, Amount, and Length of Writing

The first part of Table 4 shows that the U.S. and U.K. teachers in this sample give students a relatively long time to complete their writing, on the average 5.15 days per piece for the U.S. sample and 4.44 days for the U.K. sample, an insignificant difference but one approaching significance ($p = .053$). The U.K. primary teachers give their students significantly less time for writing than their U.S. counterparts or than secondary teachers in the U.K. Both groups of secondary teachers give their students more time to complete their writing than those in Applebee's (1981) study who reported that they expected written work to be completed in less than a week and often in less than two days (p. 55).

When asked whether their students are engaged in writing activities, most teachers in both countries indicate that their students are writing. However, the U.S. secondary teachers claim to be teaching writing in 95.1% of their classes while the U.K. secondary teachers report that they are teaching writing in 79.6% of their classes ($t = 23.72$, $df = 1$, $p. < .001$). U.S./U.K. differences appear for in-class writing, with significantly more in-class writing going on in U.S. classrooms, largely because of the greater amounts of copying, note-taking, and sentence level work. In the U.K., in-class writing tends to be more extensive, especially for secondary students who are more likely than U.S. secondary students to be writing pieces in class of from one to two pages. It is common practice in the U.K. for students to begin a piece in class which they then complete at

TABLE 4

Length of Time, Amount, and Length of Writing

	Primary	Secondary	All	T-tests a
Average Number of Days Students Have For Writing	US 5.03 (n = 165)	US 5.21 (n = 342)	US 5.15 (n = 507)	a) -.47 (df = 341)
	UK 2.90 (n = 29)	UK 5.04 (n = 74)	UK 4.44 (n = 103)	b) -4.15*** (df = 95)
	t = 4.81*** (df = 88)	t = .36 (df = 122)	t = 1.95 (df = 175)	

	In-Class				Out-of-Class				
US / UK	Primary (n=191) (n=44)	Secondary (n=368) (n=87)	All (n=559) (n=131)	Chi-square tests b prim vs sec	Primary (n=189) (n=44)	Secondary (n=367) (n=86)	All (n=556) (n=130)	Chi-square tests prim vs sec	Chi-square tests tests c (in vs. out) (df=1)
Percent answering that writing is occurring									a) 62.65 *** b) 33.77 *** c) *** d) 3.89 *
US	96.9	87.0	90.3	a)13.02***	59.8	68.7	65.6	a) 3.97*	
UK	88.6	73.6	78.6	b) 3.11	52.3	59.3	56.9	b) .34	
Chi-square tests (df=1)	5.55 *	9.62 ***	12.81***		.83	1.83	3.11		

TABLE 4--*Continued*

Percent Teachers Reporting "Yes"

	In-Class				Out-of-Class				
	Primary (n=185) (n= 39)	Secondary (n=320) (n=64)	All (n=505) (n=103)	Chi-Square tests prim vs sec (df= 1)	Primary (n=113) (n= 23)	Secondary (n=252) (n= 51)	All (n=365) (n=74)	Chi-Square tests prim vs sec (df=1)	Chi-square tests in vs out (df=1)
Copying, note-taking or sentences [d]									a) 19.31 *** b) 57.55 ***
US	45.4	42.2	43.4	a) .37	23.0	11.5	15.1	a)7.19 **	c) NS
UK	23.1	25.0	24.3	b)0.00	13.0	5.9	8.1	b) .34	d) *
Chi-square tests US vs UK (df= 1)	5.73 *	5.90 *	12.2***		.62	.89	1.94		
Up to 250 words (one page)									a) 5.92 * b)58.34 ***
US	69.7	58.8	62.8	a) 5.59*	49.6	25.4	32.9	a)19.56***	c) NS
UK	84.6	59.4	68.9	b) 6.08*	65.2	29.4	40.5	b) 7.01**	d) **
Chi-square tests US vs UK	2.86	0.00	1.15		1.30	.18	1.28		
251-500 words (one-two pages)									a) 0.00 b) 2.20
US	28.6	26.3	27.1	a) .23	34.3	33.7	34.5	a) .13	c) NS
UK	12.8	48.4	35.0	b)12.0***	21.7	43.1	36.5	b) 2.28	d) NS
Chi-square tests US vs UK	3.42	11.48 ***	2.20		1.22	1.26	.04		
501 words or more									a) **
US	6.5	4.1	5.0	a) .99	21.2	48.8	40.3	a)23.52***	b) 89.25 ***
UK	5.1	7.8	6.8	b) .02	17.4	39.2	32.4	b) 2.52	c) NS
Chi-square tests US vs UK	0.00	.94	.27		.02	1.21	1.28		d) *

a The first t-test (a) compares the US primary with US secondary teachers, and the second (b) the UK primary with the UK secondary teachers.

b In both the In-Class and Out-of-Class columns, the first Chi-square test (a) measures the difference between the US primary and the US secondary teachers, and the second (b) compares the UK primary with the UK secondary teachers.

c The first Chi-square test (a) measures the difference in the means of the US primary students doing in-class writing versus those doing out-of-class writing. The next (b) compares the mean of the US secondary students doing in-class writing with those doing out-of-class writing. The next (c) measures the difference in the means of the UK primary students doing in-class writing with those doing out-of-class writing. The last (d) measures the difference in the means of the UK secondary students doing in-class writing with those doing out-of-class writing.

The McNemar configuration of the Chi-square test is used to account for differences in correlated proportions. In configurations where there is an insufficient number of cases for the McNemar test, a binomial probability test of significance is computed, and significance levels are noted by #'s or NS for non-significance.

d Category divisions for length of writing were presented differently to primary and secondary teachers. For this analysis categories were combined to allow comparisons.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

home; such writing could be considered in-class work by the U.K. group, and this phenomenon could account for the longer U.K. in-class pieces. However, in both the U.S. and the U.K. most in-class pieces are about a page in length.

Comparisons of primary and secondary teachers show that the U.S. primary teachers report more in-class writing than U.S. secondary teachers, and less out-of-class writing. In the U.K., the trend is similar.

The U.S. and U.K. secondary teachers assign longer at-home pieces than Applebee's (1981) usual secondary English teachers in the U.S. (Table 5). Significantly more of these students than Applebee's are reported to be writing pieces at home longer than two pages and significantly fewer are reported to be writing pieces of one page or less. When Squire and Applebee (1968) observed secondary classes in the U.K., they found that "assignments were usually two pages in length and likely to be longer rather than shorter" (p. 162). At that time they indicate that the staple of the short paragraph was common in U.S. classes. It appears that in the '80s the U.K. secondary teachers have held their own in terms of the length of the pieces of writing they assign. By contrast, the highly successful U.S. teachers have come up to the U.K. norm while the usual U.S. teacher in Applebee's study had not.

TABLE 5
Length of Out-of-Class Writing: Secondary Sample and Applebee's Secondary English Sample

	Percent Teachers Reporting "Yes"			
	US Secondary (n = 252)	UK Secondary (n = 51)	Applebee Sec. Eng. (n = 139)	Chi-Square Test [a] df = 1
Up to 250 words (one page) [b]	25.4	29.4	59.7	a) 45.29 *** b) 13.69 ***
251 to 500 words (one to two pages)	33.7	43.1	46.8	a) 6.50 * b) .21
Over 501 words (more than two pages)	48.8	39.2	13.7	a) 47.72 *** b) 14.87 ***

[a] The Chi-squares test the significance of the following contrasts: (a) US Secondary vs. Applebee's Secondary English; (b) UK Secondary vs. Applebee's Secondary English.

[b] The length categories from the U.S. and U.K. questionnaires (Table 4) were combined here so that categories equivalent to Applebee's could be established and comparisons made. Percentages do not add up to 100% since teachers could indicate that their students were writing pieces in more than one length category.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

The Teachers' Reasons for Teaching Writing

Two lists of items on the teachers' questionnaires assess the teachers' most and least important reasons for teaching writing. The two lists were used by Applebee (1981) and were not changed. Thus, direct comparisons can be made across Applebee's U.S. sample of usual teachers and this U.S. and U.K. sample of especially successful teachers.

To create the question about values, Applebee refined the work of Barnes and Shemilt (1974) who, in a study of British teachers, found two views of writing--the *transmission* view, in which writing is seen as a vehicle for acquiring or recording information, and the *interpretation* view, in which writing is seen as helping writers learn and explore ideas through the act of writing. Barnes (1976) provides a detailed account of the two views. The teacher with a transmission view:

> saw the purpose of writing primarily as the *acquisition* or *recording* of information . . . thought mainly of the *product*. . . and of whether the *task* he set was appropriate and clear to the pupils. He saw marking primarily in terms of *assessment*, and either handed back written work to pupils with *no follow up* or used it as a basis for the *correction* of errors. (p. 140)

The teacher with an interpretation view:

> saw the purpose of writing either in terms of *cognitive development* or more generally as aiding the writer's *personal development*. . . was concerned with *pupils' attitudes* to the task being attempted, and was aware of aspects of the *context* in which the writing was done, such as the audience to be addressed, the range of choices available and the availability of resources. He saw marking primarily in terms of making *replies and comments*, and was concerned to *publish* his pupils' work by various means, and to use it as the basis of his *future teaching*. (pp. 140-141)

Applebee's two lists, the ones used for this study, identify four slightly different views. The first list contrasts teaching writing to help writers *transmit information* with teaching writing to help writers *understand their personal experiences*; the second list contrasts teaching writing to help writers *understand concepts* with teaching to help writers *develop skills*.

The lists that follow indicate the view each item represents:

LIST 1

Transmit information:

help students remember information
test students' learning of content
summarize material covered in class

Personal experience:

correlate personal experience with topic studied
share imaginative experiences
allow students to express feelings

LIST 2

Understand content:

explore material not covered in class
force students to think for themselves
clarify what has been learned by applying concepts to new situations

Develop skills:

practice in writing mechanics
teach proper form for types of writing
test students' ability to express themselves clearly

On each list, teachers were to check two items that represented their most important reasons for teaching writing and two that represented their least important. For the analysis, each teacher's response to each item is converted to a point value which indicates the possible combinations of checks on each item (three points for most important, two points if neither was checked, and one point for least important). In a factor analysis Applebee found that the secondary teachers in his study formed two factors which corresponded to the two lists: the first contrasted teachers who stress transmitting information with those who stress personal experience and the second contrasted teachers who teach writing so students will understand content with those who teach writing to develop students' skills. Applebee's English teachers' responses were skewed toward teaching writing to help students relate their personal experience and to develop their skills, categories that mix the values of Barnes's *transmission* and *interpretation* teachers.

Elementary Teachers

The successful U.S. elementary teachers show multiple reasons for teaching writing (Freedman, 1987, pp. 112-113) as do their U.K. counterparts (Table 6). Both groups create

TABLE 6
Reasons U.K. Primary Teachers Teach Writing: Factor Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation

N = 45	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
To remember information	-.08533	.07468	-.13836	-.93107	-.01838
To correlate experience with topic	.16996	-.11131	-.89052	-.10348	.10520
To test learning of content	-.14948	.43982	.16226	.49738	-.12650
To share imaginative experiences	.01171	.39595	.18351	.24651	.33333
To summarize class material	-.15494	-.51768	.02062	.42281	-.51193
To express feelings	.19661	.01868	.75719	.13631	.35812
To explore out-of-class material	.83383	.10343	.05823	.09859	.31994
To practice writing mechanics	-.36119	-.69776	-.26453	.20429	.24346
To force thinking	-.17064	.83444	-.07602	.06116	.10771
To apply concepts to new situations	.78657	-.15054	.15178	-.33707	-.02143
To teach proper essay form	.01542	.02784	-.06704	.04465	-.87182
To test clear expression	-.79288	-.00176	.23184	-.15030	.18978
PERCENT OF VARIANCE	20.2	18.4	14.0	11.4	9.0

Note. Variable scores loading on each factor are underlined.

contrasts of their own, most of which are unrelated to the lists and are difficult to interpret. They seem to do just what Applebee (1981) suggested effective instructors would; he thought that "in effective instructional contexts the polarities might collapse: . . . most effective learning of writing skills occurs when concepts are being applied, . . . subject-area information is learned best when applied in the context of individual experience" (p. 72).

While U.S. replies fall into six factors, the U.K. replies on Table 6 fall into five factors. In both countries the factors intertwine information, skill development, concept development, and the relationship to personal experience.

Secondary Teachers

The U.S. secondary teachers create four rather than two factors, showing more polar values than the U.S. elementary teachers but weaker polar contrasts than those Applebee documented for his group of secondary teachers (see Freedman, 1987, pp. 112, 114-115). The U.K. secondary teachers behave much like the U.S. and U.K. elementary teachers, showing little of Applebee's original polar contrasts (Table 7).

TABLE 7
Reasons U.K. Secondary Teachers Teach Writing: Principal Component Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation

N = 90

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
To remember information	-.26224	.24099	.77936	-.06694	-.07054
To correlate experience with topic	.48845	-.02120	.08429	.19962	.62584
To test learning of content	-.09660	-.14688	.00783	-.85972	.13061
To share imaginative experiences	-.22751	-.19218	-.22153	.58335	.23494
To summarize class material	.19678	-.13136	.03349	.09004	-.87748
To express feelings	-.11067	.22584	-.70530	.14889	-.02926
To explore out-of-class material	.13308	.81374	.14572	.11019	-.02512
To practice writing mechanics	-.71865	-.25812	.03006	-.00133	.21807
To force thinking	.75937	.02062	-.12426	-.24553	.05183
To apply concepts to new situations	.55137	.42167	.16644	.29175	.06130
To teach proper essay form	-.13110	-.78542	.30490	.15881	-.17849
To test clear expression	-.49171	.01808	-.50017	-.28368	-.13340
PERCENT OF VARIANCE	21.4	13.4	11.8	10.8	10.4

Note. Variable scores loading on each factor are underlined.

Comparisons

To better understand these results, we examined the percentage checking most valued for each item (Table 8).

Unlike the successful U.K. teachers, the successful U.S. teachers agree on the primary importance of teaching writing to force students to think for themselves (68.6% U.S. as opposed to 45.7% U.K.), whereas the U.K. teachers are much more interested than their U.S. counterparts in having students write to share their imaginative experiences (73.5% U.K. as opposed to 51.3% U.S.). Like the successful U.S. teachers, Applebee's U.S. group also did not emphasize having students write to share imaginative experiences. The U.K. emphasis on imaginative writing, identified by Squire and Applebee (1968), still differentiates U.S. and U.K. teachers of writing. Although a label like "imaginative writing" has multiple definitions, it is possible that the U.S. secondary group would associate imaginative writing with special "creative" writing classes and not with the usual English curriculum.

With respect to the question about thinking, it is possible that the U.K. teachers interpreted it in a systematically different way than their U.S. counterparts. In particular, many U.K. teachers may have rejected the item because of the use of the word *force*, to which a number overtly objected. It is also possible that the emphasis on critical thinking that is so prevalent in the U.S. educational community may not be as strong in the U.K. Thinking, as defined by this U.K. group, may focus more on imaginative than strictly logical cognition. Looked at from another point of view, the fact that most U.K. students leave school at age 16, after the equivalent of U.S. grade 10, and that fewer are being prepared for university educations also may lead to the decreased value placed on writing for the purpose of developing critical thinking.

Another difference between the two groups is the greater U.S. than U.K. value placed on writing to correlate personal experience with what is being learned. This difference at the .05 level shows up only when the secondary and elementary samples are combined. Professional organizations for teachers in the U.K. (e.g., the National Association of Teachers of English) certainly stress the importance of using writing to connect what one is learning to one's personal experiences. Indeed the language and learning movement has its roots in the U.K. (Barnes, 1976; Barnes, Britton, & Rosen, 1969 [revised by Barnes, Britton, & Torbe, 1986]; Britton, 1970; Bullock Report, 1975; Dixon, 1967; Richmond, 1982; Stibbs, 1979). This U.S./U.K. difference, although slight, may be evidence of the increasing influence of the U.S. National Writing Project on U.S. teachers.

In the U.K. there are no significant differences in values going from the primary to the secondary school, whereas in the U.S. there is a major shift in the teachers' reasons for teaching writing between the elementary and the secondary grades. In particular, the U.S. secondary teachers emphasize correlating personal experience with the topic and the testing of content more than the U.S. elementary teachers do. The U.S. elementary teachers place more stress than the U.S. secondary teachers on having students write to share imaginative experiences, to express their feelings, to explore material not covered in class, and to practice writing mechanics.

Overall, in spite of the differences in the U.S. and U.K. groups, both sets of successful teachers display values more in line with Barnes's interpretation view of learning than his transmission view. The philosophy is that writing can function to allow students to transform knowledge for themselves, whether that transformation takes place

TABLE 8

Reasons for Asking Students to Write

Reasons List 1	Percent of Teachers Rating as One of Two "Most Important" Elementary	Secondary &	All	Chi-Square & Tests (df=2)
	US (n=189) UK (n= 45)	US+ (n=140) US (n=347) UK (n= 87)	US (n=336) UK (n=132)	
To help students remember information				a) .02 b) .76
US+	—	18.6	—	
US	13.8	14.2	14.0	
UK	11.1	8.0	9.1	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	.77	a) 2.43 b) 1.51 c) 5.08	2.33	
To correlate personal experience with topic				a) 20.14 *** b) 5.13
US+	—	47.1	—	
US	44.4	64.3	57.6	
UK	31.1	51.7	44.7	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	5.18	a) 4.81 b)12.47*** c) .10	9.00*	
To test students' learning of content				a) 21.28 *** b) 5.48
US+	—	45.7	—	
US	3.2	14.6	12.1	
UK	2.2	9.2	6.8	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	3.47	a) 8.39* b)45.80*** c)33.64***	11.19**	
To share imaginative experiences				a) 35.20 *** b) 5.01
US+	—	30.0	—	
US	68.8	42.2	51.3	
UK	84.4	67.8	73.5	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	5.81	a)20.32*** b) 1.74 c)27.73***	24.34***	
To summarize material covered in class				a) 1.65 b) .74
US+	—	13.6	—	
US	4.8	7.4	6.5	
UK	8.9	6.9	7.6	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	1.35	a) .43 b) 4.28 c) 2.62	.75	
To allow students to express feelings				a) 6.66 * b) .43
US+	—	38.6	—	
US	66.7	55.3	59.2	
UK	62.2	56.3	58.3	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	.62	a) .43 b)11.31*** c) 6.78**	.15	

TABLE 8--*Continued*

List 2 c	Percent of Teachers Rating as One of Two "Most Important": Elementary	Secondary c	All	Chi-Square Tests (df=2)
	US (n=109) UK (n=45)	US (n=247) UK (n=94)	US (n=356) UK (n=122)	
To explore material not covered in class				a) 4.65 *
US*	—	5.0	—	b) 4.04
US	12.3	6.0	8.1	
UK	13.3	7.1	9.3	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	1.25	a) .81 b) .19 c) .29	.20	
To practice writing mechanics				a) 7.72 *
US*	—	44.8	—	b) 4.33
US	20.3	12.0	14.8	
UK	31.1	25.0	27.1	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	7.09*	a)10.06** b)72.04*** c)12.37***	11.63**	
To force students to think for themselves				a) 1.00
US*	—	44.0	—	b) .11
US	65.8	70.1	68.6	
UK	46.7	45.2	45.7	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	6.75*	a)40.71*** b)29.73*** c) .07	41.36***	
To clarify what has been learned by applying concepts				a) .08
US*	—	22.0	—	b) 2.04
US	44.9	46.2	45.8	
UK	35.6	29.8	31.8	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	2.60	a) 7.85* b)25.49*** c) .97	8.38*	
To teach proper form for writing				a) 1.71
US*	—	27.7	—	b) 2.51
US	16.0	20.7	19.1	
UK	28.9	42.9	38.0	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	4.78	a)18.79*** b) .81 c) 3.61	22.68***	
To test students' ability to express themselves clearly				a) 1.14
US*	—	61.0	—	b) 2.39
US	42.2	46.7	45.2	
UK	42.2	50.0	47.3	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)	3.07	a) 1.72 b) 8.00* c) 4.36	4.43	

a US* indicates Applebee's Secondary English sample. The Chi-squares test the significance of the following contrasts: (a) US Secondary vs. UK Secondary; (b) US Secondary vs. Applebee's Secondary English; (c) UK Secondary vs. Applebee's Secondary English. There are two degrees of freedom because there are two groups of teachers and a three point scale.

b The Chi-squares test the significance of the following contrasts: (a) US Elementary vs. US Secondary; (b) UK Elementary vs. UK Secondary.

c For the second list, n=141 for Applebee's sample.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

through critical thinking in the U.S. or imaginative writing in the U.K. What remains unexplored are the precise consequences of these genre differences on how writing functions for the students in the two countries--both cognitively and socially--and the consequences of the other differences in point of view. Medway (1986) has begun such a study in the U.K., pointing out the fact that in 346 assignments given to 12-year-olds in 21 classrooms in the north of England "a third of the assignments were stories" (p. 23). He then looked closely at the sorts of assignments to discover what kind of thinking they require of the students. He found that the writers' unique thoughts are not valued in the curriculum; instead adhering to fictional discourse types is key. Further, students are asked mostly to stay at the level of the specific, with little opportunity to analyze and generalize. Medway concludes that the English class "is a good place in which to recreate or imagine experience, but a bad place to be curious" (p. 37). Medway did not reach his conclusions based on a study of especially thoughtful teachers. Thus, the question remains about the function of the imaginative writing in the classrooms in this study. Also, no similar close analysis of what is actually called for in the writing for the U.S. students has been performed. We do not know whether the U.S. students are given sufficient opportunities to use their imaginations as their teachers have them write to think for themselves. Further, there is growing evidence in the U.S. that much writing that is designed to evoke critical thinking does not do so (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987; Flower, 1987; Langer & Applebee, 1987; Nelson & Hayes, 1987).

The two groups of successful teachers stand apart from Applebee's teachers in that the successful groups place less stress on mechanics and testing and more stress on allowing students to express their feelings. On several issues, the U.K. secondary teachers agree with the usual teachers surveyed by Applebee whereas the successful U.S. teachers do not: the U.K. teachers, like Applebee's, are significantly less interested than the successful U.S. group in having students correlate their personal experience with the topic, in teaching writing to force students' thinking, and in using writing to clarify the students' learning of concepts. They are more interested than the successful U.S. group in writing as a way of testing students' ability to express themselves clearly.

Teaching Practices

The next set analysis moves from the teachers' values to a look at the teachers' classroom practices. The practices include the types of writing they assign, the techniques they most frequently use, and their perceptions of the helpfulness and frequency of various kinds of response to student writing. For these analyses, sets of questions concerning each kind of practice are grouped into summary scales. The scaling procedure is described in Freedman (1987, pp. 50-52, 55). Briefly, when groups of individual questions are related conceptually, respondents often answer them in a consistently patterned way. When this happens, it is possible to treat the group of questions as a single question or a summary scale. Grouping related questions in this way makes it possible to look at fewer individual questions and therefore simplifies the data analysis task. Once a scale is formed, individual item means may vary significantly from one another. To determine how the group feels about the individual items on a scale, we compare the differences in the means with paired t-tests.

The main scales for the U.S. and U.K. questionnaires are included on Table 9.

TABLE 9
Teacher Summary Scales

Frequency of Types of Writing Taught

		MEANS			STD DEV			CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION			RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US/P	US/S	UK	US/P	US/S	UK	US/P	US/S	UK	US/P	UK
011A	WRITING FOR ONESELF	2.0	1.9	1.4	.9	.9	.9	.14	.21	.33	.33	.52
011B	WRITING TO CORRESPOND WITH OTHERS	1.9	1.3	1.4	.7	.8	.7	.29	.31	.40	.28	.49
011C	WRITING TO CONVEY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	2.5	2.2	2.3	.9	.9	.9	.30	.18	.22	.28	.33
011D	WRITING FOR POETIC EXPERIENCE	2.3	1.8	2.5	.8	.9	.9	.17	.18	.23		
011E	WRITING TO DISCOVER IDEAS	2.2	2.1	1.8	1.0	.9	1.0	.26	.31	.40	.24	.43
011F	WRITING TO PRESENT FACTS	1.7	1.6	1.7	.8	.9	.7	.13	.06	.33		.25
011G	WRITING TO ANALYZE AND SYNTHESIZE	1.1	2.0	1.6	1.0	1.2	1.1	.19	-.22	-.23		
							ALPHA	.45	.29	.44	.48	.65

Frequency of Teaching Techniques

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
015	TOPIC INTRO W IN-CLASS DISCUSSION	3.8	3.8	.5	.6	.22	.20	.25	.27
016	USE EXAMPLES OF PROF WRITING	2.6	2.9	.8	.8	.25	.27	.20	.33
017	MAKE AWARE OF AUDIENCE	3.4	3.2	.7	.9	.39	.29	.42	.31
018	FOCUS ON SELECTED PROBLEMS	3.4	3.2	.7	.7	.29	.42	.32	.31
019	USE EXAMPLES OF STUDENT WRITING	3.2	2.9	.8	.8	.38	.31	.42	.39
020	STUDS WORK IN PEER GROUPS	3.0	2.8	.9	.9	.36	.16	.42	.45
021	COMMENTS ON ROUGH DRAFTS	3.4	3.2	.8	.9	.35	.35	.43	.47
022	MARK PROB-ERR ON FINISHED WRITING	1.7	1.8	.9	1.0	.13	-.10		
023	ASSIGN GRADES TO FINISHED WRITING	2.8	2.3	1.1	1.3	.03	-.20		
024	RESPOND ABOUT STRENGTHS-WEAKNESSES	3.7	3.6	.6	.7	.32	.34	.21	
025	ASSIGNMENTS SEQUENCED BY DESIGN	3.1	2.4	.9	1.1	.29	.20		
026	PUBLISH STUDENT WRITING	2.8	2.3	.8	.8	.22	.14	.38	.44
027	INDIVIDUAL STUDENT CONFERENCES	2.7	2.9	.8	.7	.26	.39	.38	.49
					ALPHA	.61	.48	.69	.71

TABLE 9--*Continued*

Helpfulness of Response during the Writing Process

		MEANS			STD DEV			CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION			RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK/P	UK/S	US	UK/P	UK/S	US	UK/P	UK/S	US	UK/S
Q1	HELPFULNESS RESPONSE ON EARLY DRAFTS	3.7	3.7	3.5	.5	.4	.6	.43	.21	.48	.45	.51
Q1A	INDIVID CONF W TEACH ON EARLY DRAFT	3.7	3.9	3.7	.5	.3	.6	.31	.01	.30	.45	.37
Q1B	PEER GROUP REACTION TO EARLY DRAFT	3.4	3.4	3.2	.7	.7	.8	.09	.0005	.28		.37
Q1C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON EARLY DRAFT	2.9	2.7	3.0	.9	1.0	.8	.30	.07	.40		.33
Q1D	TEACHER GRADES ON EARLY DRAFT	1.6	1.3	1.6	.8	.7	.8	.13	.06	.01		
Q1E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON EARLY DRAFT	3.2	3.4	3.2	.8	.9	.9	.19	.07	.30		.53
							ALPHA	.45	.15	.61	.62	.69

Helpfulness of Response after Writing

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	UK
Q2	HELPFULNESS RESPONSE ON COMPL WRITING	3.3	3.5	.7	.5	.57	.39	.35
Q2A	INDIVID CONF W TEACH ON COMPL WRITING	3.4	3.7	.7	.5	.43	.23	.30
Q2B	PEER GROUP REACTION TO COMPL WRITING	3.4	3.3	.7	.7	.33	.27	.43
Q2C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON COMPL WRITING	2.9	3.2	.9	.8	.50	.25	
Q2D	TEACHER GRADES ON COMPL WRITING	2.6	2.2	.9	1.0	.31	.06	
Q2E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON COMPL WRITING	3.3	3.4	.7	.8	.31	.20	.41
					ALPHA	.67	.44	.58

Helpfulness of Response from Different Respondents

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q3	RESPONSE FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLE	3.5	3.3	.6	.6	.47	.37
Q3A	RESPONSE FROM CLASSMATES AND FRIENDS	3.5	3.4	.6	.8	.28	.38
Q3B	RESPONSE FROM PARENTS	2.9	3.1	.7	.8	.45	.63
Q3C	RESPONSE FROM TEACHER	3.6	3.7	.5	.5	.27	.36
Q3D	RESPONSE FROM OTHER TEACHERS	3.1	3.2	.7	.7	.49	.62
Q3E	RESPONSE FROM OTHER ADULTS	3.0	2.9	.7	.8	.54	.68
					ALPHA	.69	.81

TABLE 9--*Continued*

Written Response from Teachers

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
01A	INDIV CONF W TEACH ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	3.7	3.8	.5	.5	.13	.03		
01C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	2.9	2.9	.9	.9	.36	.41	.41	.28
01D	TEACHER GRADES ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	1.6	1.5	.8	.8	.29	.37	.42	.45
02A	IND CONF W TEACH ON COMPL WRITING—HLP	3.4	3.7	.7	.5	.13	.13		
02C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON COMPLETED WRITING—HLP	2.9	3.2	.9	.8	.43	.40	.47	.44
02D	TEACHER GRADES ON COMPLETED WRITING—HLP	P.6	2.2	.9	.9	.44	.27	.35	.36
03C	RESPONSE FROM TEACHER—HLP	3.6	3.7	.5	.5	.21	.15		
01B	FOCUS ON SELECTED PROBLEMS—FRQ	3.4	3.2	.7	.7	.07	.29		
021	COMMENTS ON ROUGH DRAFTS—FRQ	3.4	3.2	.8	.9	.12	.04		
022	MARK PROB-ERR ON FINISHED WRITING—FRQ	1.7	1.8	.9	1.0	.26	.20	.35	.34
023	ASSIGN GRADES TO FINISHED WRITING—FRQ	2.8	2.3	1.1	1.3	.31	.26	.44	.53
024	RESPOND ABOUT STRENGTHS-WEAKNESSES-FRQ	3.7	3.6	.6	.7	.28	.29		.25
027	INDIVIDUAL STUDENT CONFERENCES—FRQ	2.7	2.9	.8	.7	.03	.13		
					ALPHA	.59	.59	.70	.69

Response from Peers

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
01B	PEER GROUP REACT TO EARLY DRAFT—HLP	3.4	3.2	.7	.8	.54	.47
02B	PEER GROUP REACT TO COMPL WRITING—HLP	3.4	3.3	.7	.7	.35	.49
03A	RESPONSE FROM CLASSMATES FRIENDS—HELP	3.5	3.4	.6	.8	.54	.57
020	STUDENTS WORK IN PEER GROUPS—FRQ	3.0	2.8	.9	.9	.39	.47
					ALPHA	.66	.71

Response from Writer

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
01E	STUDENT SELF ASSESSMENT ON EARLY DRAFT	3.2	3.3	.8	.9	.36	.67
02E	STUDENT SELF ASSESSMENT ON COMPL WRIT	3.3	3.4	.7	.8	.36	.67
					ALPHA	.53	.80

US N=560
UK N=135

Table 10 compares the teachers' replies to the items on the U.S. and U.K. scales. Since for a given scale the items sometimes differ slightly for the U.S. and U.K. groups,

TABLE 10
U.S./U.K. Scales Comparisons: Teachers

Scale		Item Mean (sd)	T - test	Scale		Item Mean (sd)	T - test
TEACHING TECHNIQUES (9 items)	US	3.3 (.4)	1.24 (df=181)	RESPONSE FROM TEACHERS (7 items)	US	2.5 (.6)	.49 (df=195)
	UK	3.3 (.5)			UK	2.4 (.6)	
RESPONSE AFTER WRITING (4 items)	US	3.4 (.5)	-2.20 * (df=128)	RESPONSE FROM PEERS (4 items)	US	3.4 (.5)	1.68 (df=168)
	UK	3.5 (.5)			UK	3.3 (.6)	
RESPONDERS (6 items)	US	3.3 (.4)	1.35 (df=92)	RESPONSE FROM WRITER (2 items)	US	3.2 (.6)	-1.35 (df=168)
	UK	3.2 (.6)			UK	3.3 (.8)	

* p < .05.

those items which do not occur on the scales in both countries are dropped from the scales for this comparison. For example, for the scale on Table 9 about response after writing, two items do not fit for the U.K. group. Therefore, those items are also dropped for the U.S. group, leaving the comparison scales with four items. Paired t-tests compare the mean item score for the parallel scales in the two countries.

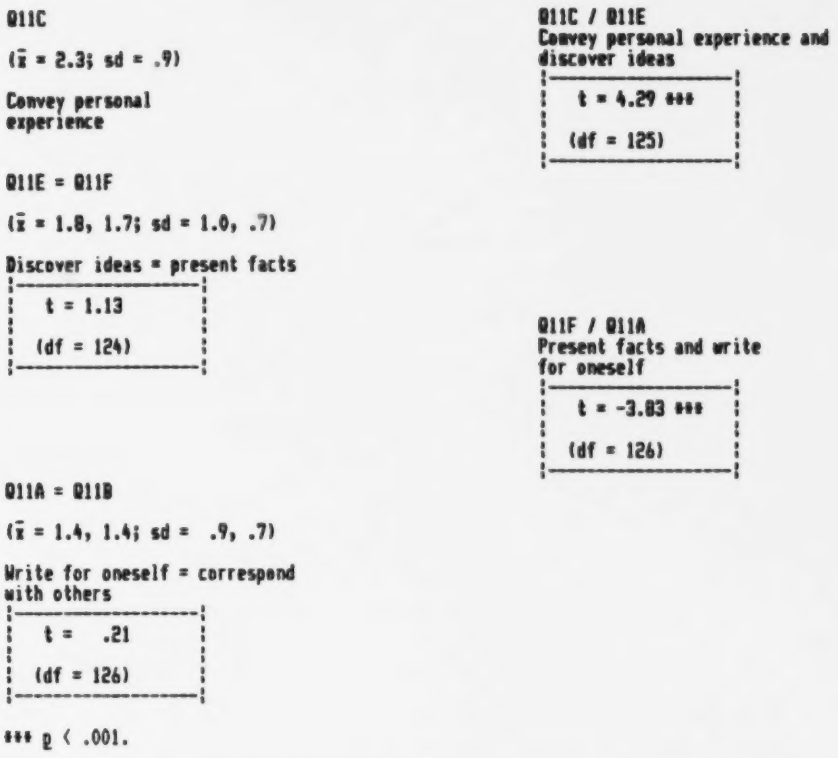
The full report of the U.S. results can be found in Freedman (1987, pp. 50-73) and of the U.K. in Freedman and McLeod (1987, pp. 37-53). Main results will be highlighted in the following sections.

Types of Writing Taught

The U.K. teachers and the U.S. elementary teachers form scales for the types of writing they are assigning; however, the U.S. secondary teachers do not (see the set of scales for types of writing on Table 9).

Like the U.S. elementary teachers, the U.K. teachers do not assign analytic writing or poetic writing in a patterned way in relation to the rest of the types of writing. However, poetic writing is the type of writing that is reported as most frequent, a finding consistent with the value the U.K. group places on having students use their imaginations.

Paired t-tests are used to compare the means for items on this scale for the U.K. teachers. The left column of Figure 1 begins with the most frequently assigned type of writing, that which conveys personal experiences, and shows the types in descending order. The teachers next assign an equal amount of writing to discover ideas and to


Q11C
($\bar{x}$ = 2.3; sd = .9)
Convey personal experience
Q11E = Q11F
($\bar{x}$ = 1.8, 1.7; sd = 1.0, .7)
Discover ideas = present facts
t = 1.13
(df = 124)
Q11A = Q11B
($\bar{x}$ = 1.4, 1.4; sd = .9, .7)
Write for oneself = correspond with others
t = .21
(df = 126)
Q11C / Q11E
Convey personal experience and discover ideas
t = 4.29 ***
(df = 125)
Q11F / Q11A
Present facts and write for oneself
t = -3.83 ***
(df = 126)

*** p < .001.

FIGURE 1. *Teachers' reports of relative frequency of types of writing taught.*

present facts; least frequently they assign writing for the self and writing to correspond with others. The right column of the figure shows the significant differences between the means for different items. For example, personal experience writing stands alone in the left column because it is significantly more frequent than the next most frequent type, writing to discover ideas ($p < .001$).

These finding are consistent with the 1968 findings of Squire and Applebee who report the frequency of imaginative and personal experience writing in U.K. secondary classrooms. It is also corroborated by Gubb and her colleagues (1987) who found the personal story and personal essay to be the most common types of writing, followed at a close distance by the short story and statement of personal views. Next on the list, but at some distance behind, is the critical essay.

For these scales, it is not possible to compare the replies across the two countries because there is no U.S. secondary scale for types of writing.

Frequency of Teaching Techniques

The next summary scale on Table 9 considers how often these teachers use different types of teaching techniques. Like the U.S. group (Freedman, 1987, p. 61), the U.K. group reports discussing topics with their students significantly more than any other practice. The U.K. group rates the use of professional models much higher in relative frequency than the U.S. group, putting this practice third (along with using student models, conferences, and peer response) after focusing on selected problems, commenting either orally or in writing on drafts, and making their students aware of an audience. The U.S. teachers use professional models least often of all the techniques. In comparison to U.S. teachers, the U.K. teachers spend relatively little time publishing their students' writing. Although publishing is a relatively infrequent practice for the U.S. teachers, it is ranked higher on the U.S. than the U.K. list. Neither group rates individual conferences as a particularly frequent practice.

The inconsistencies are particularly interesting here. For both the U.S. and U.K. group the frequency of assigning grades, of marking every problem or error on student writing, and of sequencing assignments are independent of the teacher's other practices. For the U.K. group, commenting on the strengths and weaknesses in the students' writing is relatively independent as well. The teachers employ these practices without any pattern in reference to their other practices.

Comparisons of the scales about teaching techniques on Table 10 show no significant differences across the two countries.

Helpfulness and Frequency of Response to Student Writing

Findings for the U.K. teachers are similar to those for the U.S. teachers, with one major exception. In the U.S., response during the writing process is more highly valued than in the U.K. The U.S. group reports that response during the writing process is significantly more helpful to students than response after a piece of writing is finished (Freedman, 1987, pp. 59-61). The U.K. group reports no significant difference in the timing of the response, although the mean for in-process response is higher than for response at the end of the process, with the difference approaching significance ($t = .79$, $df = 88$, $p = .067$). Table 10 shows that the U.K. teachers value response after writing more than the U.S. teachers do.

In both countries individual conferences are seen as the most helpful type of response (Freedman, 1987, pp. 55-59; Freedman & McLeod, 1987, pp. 39-41) and the teacher as the most helpful responder, followed by classmates (Freedman, 1987, pp. 58-60; Freedman & McLeod, 1987, pp. 41-42). In neither country are grades or written comments valued means of response, with grades being seen as particularly unhelpful (Freedman, 1987, pp. 55-59; Freedman & McLeod, 1987, pp. 39-41, 44-45).

Keys to Achieving Success

Open-ended questions at the end of the teachers' questionnaires asked teachers to comment on: (a) how they achieve their teaching success and (b) what advice they would give other teachers of writing. A content analysis was performed on all 135 of the U.K. teachers' replies and 135 randomly selected replies for the U.S. group. Coding categories were derived from the data. The teachers discussed their role in the classroom, the traits they feel successful teachers possess, their pedagogical emphases

in their classrooms, and the professional resources they use. Table 11 reveals what the teachers mentioned under each heading and shows differences across the countries (only topics that were mentioned by at least 35 teachers are included).

TABLE 11
Keys to Achieving Success: Free Responses

	Percent of Teachers Reporting		Chi-Square Tests
	US (n=135)	UK (n=135)	
ROLE:			
Challenger	11.1	22.2	5.23*
Collaborator	25.2	25.2	0
Support-giver	38.5	51.1	3.83*
TRAITS:			
Enthusiastic	23.7	23.0	0
Open to others' feelings and ideas	10.4	18.5	3.00
Love of words/ literature	10.4	21.5	5.42*
Capacity for understanding students	16.3	34.1	10.40**
Risk-taker	19.3	7.4	7.21**
Love of children	15.6	10.4	1.18
PEDAGOGICAL EMPHASES:			
Practices process approach	39.3	25.9	4.87*
Focuses on meaning	17.8	31.9	6.43*
Assigns variety of writing	16.3	38.5	15.66***
Nurtures creativity	8.9	19.3	5.18*
Knows goals	13.3	14.1	0
Shares teacher's writing	24.4	13.3	4.74*
Writes along with students	30.4	19.3	3.89*
Believes in student-centered approach	40.0	52.6	3.81
RESOURCES:			
Professional reading	25.2	19.3	1.05
Professional writing	52.6	25.2	20.20***
National Writing Project	25.9		37.95***
Other teachers	17.0	14.8	.11

U.K. teachers discuss their role more often than U.S. teachers. Although both groups see themselves mostly playing the role of support-giver, the U.K. teachers mention the importance of support-giving significantly more often than the U.S. group does. The two groups find a collaborative role equally important. Although not so frequently mentioned in either country, the U.K. teachers discuss their role as challengers of their students more often than the U.S. teachers do.

In the U.K. the teachers characterize their most important trait as their capacity for understanding their students, something significantly more important to them than to the U.S. group. Both groups think it is important to be enthusiastic about their work. The U.K. teachers find it particularly important that they love literature and words. U.S. teachers find risk-taking more important than U.K. teachers do and mention this more often than any other trait except enthusiasm.

In their classrooms, the U.S. teachers mention their use of a process approach significantly more often than U.K. teachers. They also stress the importance of writing with and sharing their writing with their students. By contrast, the U.K. teachers are more prone to mention the importance of having their students write in varied ways, of focusing on the student's meaning-making, and of nurturing their students' creativity. Both groups claim to run student-centered classrooms. For both groups their most important professional resource is their own writing. Their motto seems to be "practice what you teach." However, the U.S. teachers mention writing significantly more often than the U.K. teachers do. The U.S. teachers take advantage of National Writing Project activities, a resource not available to the U.K. teachers at the time of the survey. Both groups read professional literature. In both countries other teachers provide a surprisingly small amount of support, and administrators are not mentioned frequently enough to be counted.

All in all, the U.S. teachers seem to attribute their success to aspects of their curriculum--in particular to their use of a process approach, to their writing with their students and sharing that writing, and to their willingness to take risks. By contrast, the U.K. teachers attribute their success to getting to know their individual pupils--as writers and as people--so that they can build instruction from what the student knows and can do. More than the U.S. teachers, the U.K. teachers mention the importance of giving support while challenging and understanding the needs of their individual students. They nurture their students' creativity, focus on their meaning-making, and help them write in a variety of ways.

The U.S. teachers seem curriculum-centered; the U.K. teachers seem student-centered. Interestingly, both groups claim to run student-centered classrooms and to work collaboratively with their students, but their sense of what is involved in setting up and maintaining a student-centered environment and their sense of the nature of collaboration seem to differ.

SECONDARY STUDENT RESULTS

School Leaving Age

The U.K. students are, on average, younger than the U.S. students because in the U.K. most students leave secondary school after Form 5, the equivalent of U.S. grade 10 (Table 12). The percentage of participating U.K. students in the Lower 6th Form is very low, and no students from the Upper 6th Form are included.

TABLE 12
Characteristics of Secondary Students

Characteristics		Percentage Of Students Reporting
Grade level		
Below 7 / Form 1	US / UK	2.3 / 8.0
Grade 7 / Form 2	US / UK	12.7 / 9.8
Grade 8 / Form 3	US / UK	21.5 / 33.9
Grade 9 / Form 4	US / UK	14.9 / 37.9
Grade 10 / Form 5	US / UK	8.8 / 8.6
Grade 11 / Lower 6	US / UK	19.4 / 1.7
Grade 12 / Upper 6	US / UK	20.5 / 0.0
	US / UK	(n = 707) / (n = 174)
Chi-square tests US vs UK		125.09 *** (df=6)

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

		Percentage of Students Reporting: High Achieving Students	Low Achieving Students	All Students	Chi-square tests 1
UK School Leaving Age					
	< 16	0.0	1.1	0.5	
	16	23.4	42.4	32.8	
	17	11.7	12.0	11.8	10.29 * (df=4)
	18	63.8	44.6	54.3	
	DK	1.1	0.0	.5	
		(n= 94)	(n= 92)	(n=186)	
Plans after Leaving School					
4 year college	US / UK	78.8 / 52.1	53.8 / 27.8	66.2 / 40.2	a) 49.79*** (df=3)
Job Training	US / UK	3.4 / 9.6	5.4 / 16.7	4.4 / 13.0	b) 11.78** (df=3)
2 year college	US / UK	6.9 / 13.8	15.0 / 23.3	11.0 / 18.5	
No plans	US / UK	10.9 / 24.5	25.8 / 32.2	18.4 / 28.3	
	US / UK	(n=349) / (n= 94)	(n=353) / (n= 90)	(n=702) / (n=184)	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=3)		27.29***	25.99***	47.43***	
Grades in Sampled Class					
A	US / UK	69.3 / 41.8	10.7 / 8.9	40.1 / 25.3	a) 270.10*** (df=2)
B	US / UK	23.9 / 50.6	46.6 / 53.2	35.3 / 51.9	b) 32.95*** (df=2)
C or below	US / UK	6.8 / 7.6	42.7 / 38.0	24.7 / 22.8	
	US / UK	(n=355) / (n=79)	(n=354) / (n=79)	(n=709) / (n=158)	
Chi-square tests US vs. UK (df=2)		23.66***	1.14	17.18***	

The U.K. students were asked at what age they intend to leave school. Most plan to stay in school until age 18; however, a sizable percentage plans to leave at age 16, with the higher achieving students significantly more likely to report that they plan to stay in school longer. Given the fact that according to the latest available statistics, 83% actually leave the secondary school at age 16 and 72% neither stay in secondary school nor go on for additional vocational training at a Further Education College (*DES Statistical Bulletin*, 1987 edition, statistics for 1984-85), the students as a group are optimistic about the probability of their staying in school. Of those who plan to stay in school until 18, some may stay in the secondary school and others may continue in a Further Education or Sixth Form College. It is also possible that some who say they will leave at 16 might be planning to continue in a Further Education or Sixth Form College.

Students' plans after graduation show significant differences in the U.S. and the U.K. as well as across the higher and lower achieving groups in both countries. The U.S.-U.K. differences seem to be accounted for by the fact that many more students in the U.S. plan to attend four-year colleges or universities, while in the U.K. a higher percentage have no plans for further education after secondary school. In both countries, the higher achieving students are more inclined than their lower achieving peers to expect to go to a four-year college and are less inclined to expect to enter a two-year college or to have no plans for education beyond high school. Interestingly, the plans of the higher and lower achieving groups, although different from one another in both countries, are more similar in the U.K. than in the U.S.

The U.S.-U.K. differences in the distribution of the students across grade levels, the age when students plan to leave secondary school, and the students' plans after leaving school give a graphic picture of the differences in the post-secondary school opportunities available to students in the two countries.

Grading and Examinations

Another set of interesting differences in the two student populations concerns the grades they receive. First, it is important to note that grade-giving is a more common phenomenon in the U.S., with 15% of the U.K. sample reporting that they do not receive grades from their teacher either on individual pieces of writing or at the end of the term. The U.S. students and those U.K. students who do receive grades report making mostly As and Bs on their writing in the class taught by the teacher completing the questionnaire. In the U.K. more make Bs than As, while in the U.S. the reverse is the case. When grades are looked at according to whether the students are labeled high or low achieving by their teachers, the difference is accounted for by the high achievers. The high achieving students are much more likely to receive an A in the U.S. than in the U.K.

In spite of the lack of grading in many U.K. classes, there is a national examination system, beginning in the upper secondary school years. The sorting procedures take place outside the classroom, in a sense making classroom grading less important than it is in the U.S. In Forms 4 and 5 (U.S. grades 9 and 10), students take what is called an examination course in each subject. They usually must take English language and math, with another one or two compulsory subjects depending on the requirements of their school. In addition to the compulsory subjects they choose four or five others to make a total of about eight subjects. Until 1986, students were placed into either O level (college-bound) or Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) (non-college-bound) courses in each subject. About half of this sample, regardless of achievement level, has taken or is

planning to take the O-level exam in Language (53.5%) and the O-level in Literature (49.2%); 17.3% has taken or is planning to take the CSE. Beginning in 1986, the two-tiered system was abolished. Now all students will take the same examination course, the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE). The first GCSE examinations will be administered in 1988. In this group, 20.5% report that they will take the GCSE. Students' performance on the GCSE examination and in their coursework examinations determines the advisability of their continuing into the 6th Forms for the A level courses which precede university entrance. Of these students, 23.8% are planning to take A-levels. There also is another 6th Form examination called the CEE or Certificate of Extended Education. This examination was offered to secondary students who: (a) had a good CSE grade but not good enough to count as equivalent to an O level, or (b) wanted only one year in the 6th Form, or (c) remained in school after age 16 but believed (or whose teacher believed) that they could not pass an A level. Along with the other old examinations, the CEE has now lost favor. Only 5.9% of our sample report they are planning to take the CEE. Another new 6th Form examination, the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) is growing rapidly in many schools, generally as a 6th Form option for students not thought able to attain the A level standard.

Amount of Writing

Like their teachers, students revealed their perceptions about the amount of writing they do in the classes of the participating teachers (Table 13). The U.S. secondary students claim to be doing more writing than the U.K. students. They first say that in the class of the surveyed teacher they are writing more often than the U.K. students claim they are writing. The U.S. students next say that they are writing more for this class than for their other classes to a greater degree than the U.K. students. Finally, the U.S. students are more likely than their U.K. counterparts to claim that they initiate their own writing outside school. These findings mark the beginning of a general trend in which U.K. students give lower ratings on all items in comparison to the U.S. students. Thus, it is difficult to know whether the U.K. students really were doing less writing or whether they merely tended to give lower assessments than the U.S. students. These findings are consistent with the teachers' reports which also indicate that U.S. students are more likely than U.K. students to be working on a piece of writing.

Students' Opinions about Their Teachers' Practices

As with the teachers' questionnaires, the items concerning the secondary students' views of their teachers' practices are placed into conceptually related groups and summary scales are computed (Table 14).

TABLE 13
Amount and Length of Writing: Student Reports

	Percent of Students Reporting		
	US	UK	Chi-square tests of significance
Frequency writing for class			
Never	.1	0	
Hardly ever	2.5	1.1	10.94 * (df=3)
Some of the time	33.2	45.7	
A lot of the time	64.1	53.2	
	(n=714)	(n=186)	
Frequency of writing for class compared with others			
A lot less for this subject	1.7	3.2	
A little less for this subject	4.5	15.7	
About the same	12.5	23.8	87.32 *** (df=4)
A little more for this subject	30.4	41.1	
A lot more for this subject	51.0	16.2	
	(n=714)	(n=185)	
Frequency of self-initiated writing			
Never	6.9	16.6	
Hardly Ever	27.0	29.9	20.63 *** (df=3)
Some of the time	49.4	42.2	
A lot of the time	16.7	11.2	
	(n=714)	(n=187)	

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

TABLE 14
Student Summary Scales

Frequency of Types of Writing Taught

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q12	WRITING FOR ONESELF	1.5	1.0	1.2	1.1	.36	.20	.37	
Q13	WRITING TO CORRESPOND WITH OTHERS	1.6	1.1	1.3	1.1	.32	.29	.32	
Q14	WRITING TO CONVEY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	2.0	1.5	1.2	1.0	.40	.38	.45	.40
Q15	WRITING FOR POETIC EXPERIENCE	2.1	2.4	1.3	1.2	.30	.21	.33	.36
Q16	WRITING TO DISCOVER IDEAS	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.2	.42	.42	.43	.40
Q17	WRITING TO PRESENT FACTS	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.0	.14	.35		.32
Q18	WRITING TO ANALYZE AND SYNTHESIZE	2.3	2.2	1.2	1.1	.33	.40	.28	.46
					ALPHA	.61	.60	.63	.63

Frequency of Teaching Techniques

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q19	TEACH WRITE COMMENTS BEFORE	2.6	1.7	1.1	1.0	.29	.04	.28	
Q20	TEACH WRITE COMMENTS ON COMPLETED	3.3	3.4	1.0	.9	.32	.24	.33	.30
Q21	TEACH TALK ABOUT WRITING BEFORE	3.0	2.5	1.0	1.1	.50	.45	.50	.37
Q22	TEACH TALK ABOUT COMPLETED WRITING	2.8	2.6	1.0	1.0	.53	.41	.54	.46
Q23	STUDENTS TALK ABOUT WRITING BEFORE	3.0	2.4	1.0	.9	.38	.28	.38	.27
Q24	STUDENTS TALK ABOUT COMPLETED WRITING	2.5	2.2	1.0	1.0	.40	.28	.39	.27
Q25	RECEIVE GRADES ON COMPLETED WRITING	3.6	3.3	.8	1.1	.20	.06	.19	
Q26	TEACH INFORM ABOUT WRITER'S AUDIENCE	2.3	1.7	1.1	.8	.30	.03	.30	
Q27	MAKE UP OWN TOPIC TO WRITE ABOUT	2.7	1.9	1.0	.9	-.01	.01		
Q28	TEACH GIVE TOPIC TO WRITE ABOUT	2.7	3.3	1.0	.7	-.02	.02		
Q29	CLASS DISCUSSION ABOUT TOPIC	3.2	3.2	1.0	.8	.32	.08	.30	
Q30	TEACH COMMENT ON STRONG-WEAK WRITING	3.3	2.9	1.0	.9	.49	.40	.50	.42
					ALPHA	.66	.50	.71	.61

TABLE 14--*Continued*

Helpfulness of Response during and after Writing

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q31	HELPFULNESS RESPONSE ON EARLY DRAFTS	3.3	2.9	1.0	.7	.44	.45
Q31A	INDIVID CONF W TEACH ON EARLY DRAFT	3.2	2.7	1.2	.9	.48	.45
Q31B	PEER GROUP REACTION TO EARLY DRAFT	2.8	2.5	1.0	.8	.31	.31
Q31C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON EARLY DRAFT	3.0	2.4	1.3	.9	.46	.47
Q31D	TEACHER GRADES ON EARLY DRAFT	1.8	1.4	1.5	.9	.39	.33
Q31E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON EARLY DRAFT	2.1	2.1	1.4	.8	.53	.41
Q32	HELPFULNESS RESPONSE ON COMPL WRITING	3.4	3.4	.8	.8	.42	.43
Q32A	INDIVID CONF W TEACH ON COMPL WRITING	3.0	3.0	1.3	.7	.52	.50
Q32B	PEER GROUP REACTION TO COMPL WRITING	2.4	2.3	1.2	.8	.43	.40
Q32C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON COMPL WRITING	3.3	3.3	.9	.7	.41	.33
Q32D	TEACHER GRADES ON COMPL WRITING	3.0	3.0	1.0	.8	.38	.36
Q32E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON COMPL WRITING	2.1	2.3	1.4	.8	.54	.46
					ALPHA	.80	.77

Helpfulness of Response from Different Responders

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q33	RESPONSE FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLE	2.8	2.5	1.1	.8	.45	.49
Q33A	RESPONSE FROM CLASSMATES AND FRIENDS	2.8	2.4	1.1	.8	.49	.52
Q33B	RESPONSE FROM PARENTS	2.6	2.6	1.3	.9	.55	.47
Q33C	RESPONSE FROM TEACHER	3.6	3.4	.7	.7	.39	.40
Q33D	RESPONSE FROM OTHER TEACHERS	2.3	2.2	1.6	.9	.59	.52
Q33E	RESPONSE FROM OTHER ADULTS	2.0	1.9	1.5	.8	.67	.60
Q33F	RESPONSE FROM BROTHERS-SISTERS	1.6	2.1	1.5	.9	.56	.49
					ALPHA	.80	.78

TABLE 14--*Continued*

Response from Teachers

		MEANS		STD DEV		CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION		RESCALED CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	
		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q19	TEACH WRITE COMMENTS BEFORE—FRQ	2.6	1.7	1.1	1.0	.38	.30		.36
Q20	TEACHER WRITE COMMENTS ON COMPLE—FRQ	3.3	3.4	1.0	.9	.25	.13		
Q21	TEACH TALK ABOUT WRITING BEFORE—FRQ	3.0	2.5	1.0	1.1	.48	.43		.41
Q22	TEACH TALK ABOUT COMPLETED WRTNG—FRQ	2.8	2.6	1.0	1.0	.52	.38		.32
Q30	TEACH COMMENTS ON STRONG-WEAK WRT—FRQ	3.3	2.9	.9	.9	.40	.41		.39
Q31A	INDIV CONF W TEACH ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	3.2	2.7	1.2	.9	.50	.47		.49
Q31C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	3.0	2.4	1.3	.9	.49	.42		.46
Q31D	TEACHER GRADES ON EARLY DRAFT—HLP	1.8	1.4	1.5	.9	.31	.24		.30
Q32A	IND CONF W TEACH ON COMPL WRITING—HLP	3.0	3.0	1.3	.7	.48	.47		.48
Q32C	TEACHER COMMENTS ON COMPL WRITING—HLP	3.3	3.3	.9	.7	.41	.34		.32
Q32D	TEACHER GRADES ON COMPL WRITING—HLP	3.0	3.0	1.0	.8	.36	.31		.31
Q33C	RESPONSE FROM TEACHER—HLP	3.6	3.4	.7	.7	.48	.47		.47
					ALPHA	.77	.73		.74

Response from Peers

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q23	STUD TALK ABOUT WRITING BEFORE—FRQ	3.0	2.4	1.0	.9	.47	.34
Q24	STUDENTS TALK ABOUT COMP WRITING—FRQ	2.5	2.2	1.0	.9	.51	.40
Q31B	PEER GRP REACTION TO EARLY DRAFT—HLP	2.8	2.5	1.0	.8	.57	.55
Q32B	PEER GROUP REACTION TO COMPL WRTG—HLP	2.4	2.3	1.2	.8	.57	.47
Q33A	RESPONSE FROM CLASSMATES FRIENDS—HLP	2.8	2.4	1.1	.8	.50	.29
					ALPHA	.76	.65

Response from Writer

		US	UK	US	UK	US	UK
Q31E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON EARLY DRAFT	2.1	2.1	1.5	.8	.62	.49
Q32E	STUDENT SELF ASSESS ON COMPL WRITING	2.1	2.3	1.5	.8	.62	.49
					ALPHA	.76	.66

US N=715
UK N=187

Table 15 compares the students' replies to the items on the U.S. and U.K. scales.

TABLE 15
U.S./U.K. Scales Comparisons: Students

Scale		Item Mean (sd)	T - test	Scale		Item Mean (sd)	T - test
TYPES WRITING (4 items)	US	2.1 (.8)	3.0 ** (df=315)	RESPONSE FROM TEACHERS (11 items)	US	3.2 (.5)	9.29 *** (df=278)
	UK	1.9 (.8)			UK	2.8 (.5)	
TEACHING TECHNIQUES (6 items)	US	3.0 (.6)	6.52 *** (df=311)	RESPONSE FROM PEERS (5 items)	US	2.8 (.6)	8.33 *** (df=294)
	UK	2.7 (.6)			UK	2.4 (.6)	
RESPONSE DURING AND AFTER PROCESS (12 items)	US	3.2 (.4)	7.57 *** (df=266)	RESPONSE FROM WRITER (2 items)	US	2.8 (.8)	4.24 *** (df=196)
	UK	2.9 (.5)			UK	2.5 (.8)	
RESPONDERS (7 items)	US	3.0 (.6)	7.84 *** (df=270)				
	UK	2.7 (.6)					

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

As for the teachers, items on a given scale sometimes differ slightly for the U.S. and U.K. student groups. Only those items which occur on the scales in both countries are kept for this comparative analysis. Unlike the teachers, the U.K. students give significantly lower average item mean scores for every scale.

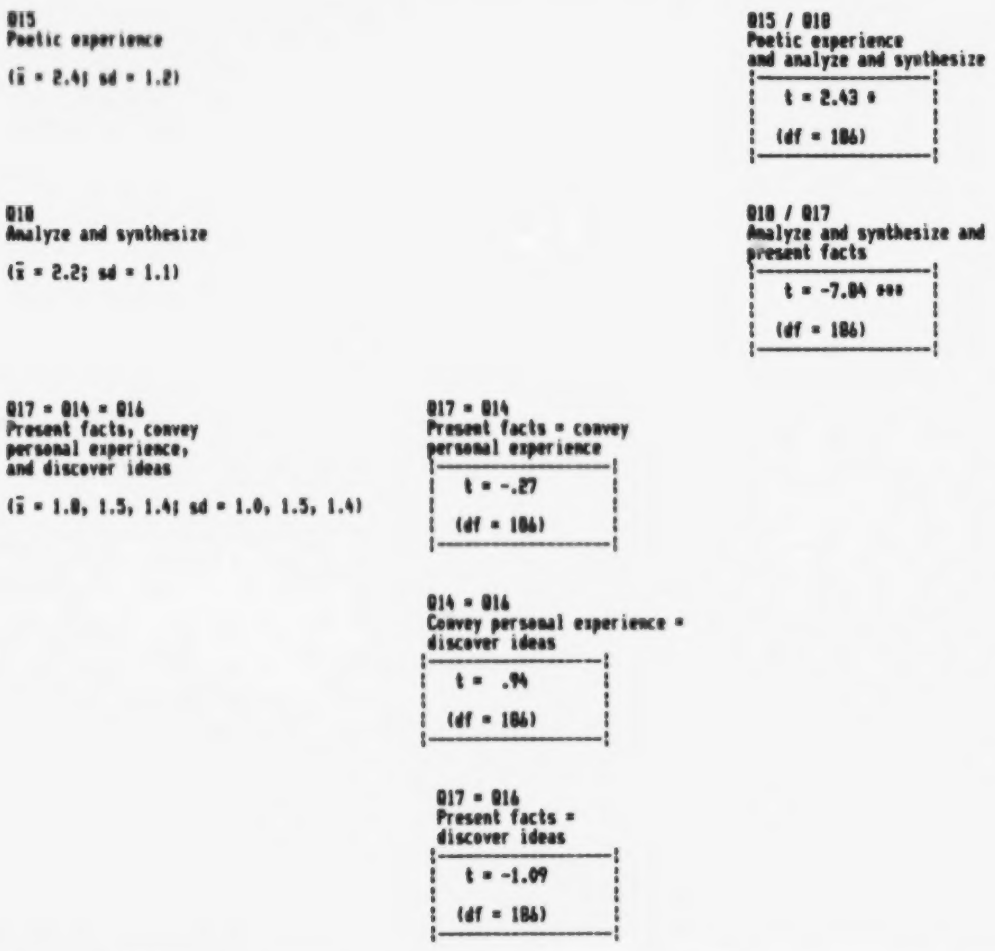
There is no obvious explanation for the low U.K. student scores. It is possible that the U.K. students view their instruction in writing less favorably than the U.S. students. Possibly, because of the difficulties with gathering the U.K. sample, the teacher sample in the U.K., although generally a successful group, was not as strong as the U.S. group. Alternatively, the U.K. students may be inclined to give lower assessments for other reasons. Besides coming from another culture, the U.K. students are younger than the U.S. students. They may have been unfamiliar with the phrasings of questions or the format of the questionnaire itself. Alternatively, the U.S. students may have given unusually high scores because they are used to more inflated numbers--grade inflation included.

The U.K. students' opinions about their teachers' practices will be described with reference to the U.S. results. The full report of the U.S. student results can be found in Freedman (1987, pp. 73-90) and of the U.K. in Freedman and McLeod (1987, pp. 61-74). Main findings will be highlighted here.

Types of Writing Taught

A given student in the U.S. writes short reports independent of all other types of writing. The other questions about writing type form a single scale (Table 14). For the U.K. students short report writing fits on the scale, but two other types of writing do not: journal writing and writing dialogues between the student and the teacher. These two types of writing are least frequent for the U.S. and U.K. students.

Paired t-tests comparing the means for items on the U.S. scale indicate that the U.S. students say they write mostly analytic essays followed by poems and plays and personal experience essays (see Figure 3.6 in Freedman, 1987, p. 77). The U.K. group shows the reverse trend; the U.K. students say that they write mostly to express a poetic experience, generally in the form of poems, plays, and stories, followed by writing to analyze and synthesize, mostly in the form of analytic essays (Figure 2).



* p < .05. *** p < .001.

FIGURE 2. *Students' reports of relative frequency of types of writing taught.*

These findings are consistent with the U.K. teachers' high value for imaginative writing and the U.S. teachers' similarly high value for critical thinking as well as with the U.K. teachers' reports that they assign mostly poetic writing.

Frequency of Teaching Techniques

The next summary scale on Table 14 focuses on the frequency of the different classroom activities that students engage in as part of the writing instruction in the class, including various types of response. As many of these activities as possible were paralleled to the teacher questions about teaching techniques. For the U.S. students, all items asking about the frequency of different teaching techniques fit on this scale, with the exception of the two items concerning topic assignment. For the U.K. students the items about topic do not fit, and neither do four others: the item about their teachers' giving grades, the item about talk about topics before writing, the item about writing comments during the process, and the item about audience.

For the U.S. group the item about grades has an item-total correlation of only .19 on the final scale; however, it is included because the scale alpha is not raised by removing it. The item probably does not fit well on the scale because there is so little variance in the responses to it; U.S. students perceive that grades are given universally by their teachers on completed versions of their writing. A comparison of the U.S. and U.K. means for the item shows that U.S. students report receiving grades on final pieces of writing much more frequently than their U.K. counterparts ($t = 3.14$, $df = 243$, $p < .002$)

The U.S. and U.K. item means show that the students report that their teachers almost always write comments on their completed writing, the most frequently used response technique (Figure 3). Next most frequent are U.K. teachers' comments on what is strong as well as what is weak in the students' writing. In the U.K. students report that an equivalent amount of time is spent on peer response to in-process writing, on their teachers' talk to them about completed writing, and on their teachers' talk to them about in-process writing.

The U.S. students say their teachers talk to them more about their in-process work than about their completed pieces. In the U.S. the students report that their peers talk to them more during the process than their teachers do (Freedman, 1987, pp. 82-83). In the U.K. peer response is less usual, it being equivalent in frequency to teacher conferences when it occurs during the process and being the least frequent type of response activity when it occurs after a piece is completed.

Response to Student Writing

In both the U.S. and U.K. the secondary students' hierarchy of values about the helpfulness of various kinds of response to writing is different from their teachers'. The students especially value response on their completed writing in the form of written comments and then grades. From the students' point of view, the teacher's written comments most clearly make the teacher's values accessible and the grades let them know where they stand and how they are progressing.

Both groups of students find conferences with their teacher during the process to be relatively helpful, while both groups report that their teachers hold conferences less frequently than they are helpful. The U.S. students report that peer response is used often but that it is only somewhat helpful. The U.K. students generally find peer response unhelpful and report it occurring infrequently.

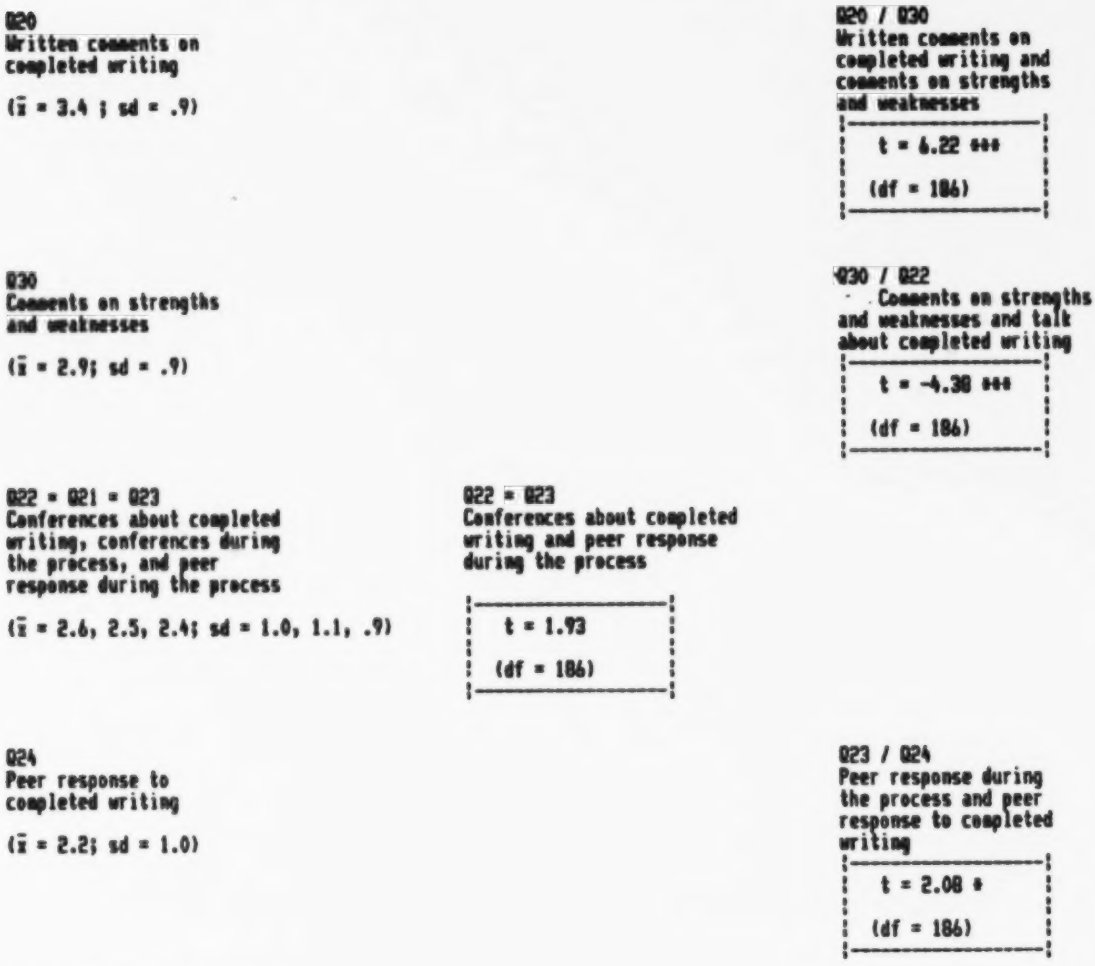

Q20
Written comments on completed writing
($\bar{x}$ = 3.4 ; sd = .9)
Q20 / Q30
Written comments on completed writing and comments on strengths and weaknesses
t = 6.22 ***
(df = 186)
Q30
Comments on strengths and weaknesses
($\bar{x}$ = 2.9; sd = .9)
Q30 / Q22
Comments on strengths and weaknesses and talk about completed writing
t = -4.38 ***
(df = 186)
Q22 = Q21 = Q23
Conferences about completed writing, conferences during the process, and peer response during the process
($\bar{x}$ = 2.6, 2.5, 2.4; sd = 1.0, 1.1, .9)
Q22 = Q23
Conferences about completed writing and peer response during the process
t = 1.93
(df = 186)
Q24
Peer response to completed writing
($\bar{x}$ = 2.2; sd = 1.0)
Q23 / Q24
Peer response during the process and peer response to completed writing
t = 2.08 *
(df = 186)
* p < .05. *** p < .001.

FIGURE 3. *Students' reports of relative frequency of teaching techniques.*

Unlike their teachers, U.S. and U.K. secondary students find response after finishing writing (U.S. mean = 3.4, s.d. = .82; U.K. mean = 3.4, s.d. = .76) significantly more helpful than response during the process (U.S. mean = 3.3, s.d. = .96; U.K. mean = 3.0, s.d. = .76), at the .001 level in both countries (U.S. t = -3.23, df = 711; U.K. t = -5.25, df = 135). These findings are consistent with the findings about the importance to students in both countries of written comments and grades on final versions.

The U.S. and U.K. secondary students agree with their teachers that their teachers are the most helpful responders. However, both groups value the response of their parents more than their teachers do (see Freedman, 1987, p. 81 and Freedman & McLeod, 1987, pp. 64-65).

DISCUSSION

Cross-cultural studies of this sort can help clarify basic pedagogical assumptions within a culture and lead educators to clarify and examine these assumptions. In the case of the U.S. and the U.K., where there is much sharing of knowledge from theory, practice, and research, cross-cultural research is especially important because it can lead to a clearer understanding of how to interpret and then apply knowledge gleaned from one cultural context to another. Finally, the focus on successful teachers and their students opens the door to learning not only what is but also what is possible in both countries.

We have found a number of interesting and deeply embedded cultural differences. First of all, the U.K. teachers are fundamentally student-centered while the U.S. teachers are curriculum-centered. These different orientations are sustained by and perhaps contribute to the different organizations of schooling in the two countries. U.K. schools are smaller than U.S. schools, allowing for more contact between students and staff. The larger U.K. secondary schools are often subdivided into smaller units, schools within schools, called "houses," so that close personal contact can be maintained. Further, the same teacher usually teaches the same class of students for at least two years and often longer. The result is that across time the student-centered teachers get to know their students as learners; they learn to meet their individual needs; they have time and perspective for watching and weathering the ups and downs of development. According to the U.K. group, successful teachers are those who are most astute about the needs of their individual students and who can best meet those needs while challenging their students as learners. Ironically, at the secondary level, the national examination system may also work to perpetuate and support the more personal focus that is so highly valued in the schools. Teachers can interpret their role partly as one that protects the children from some of the detrimental effects of the examinations as teachers collaborate with their learners to help them do well on the tests. The examinations also release teachers' attention from a focus on the program of study since much of the curriculum is determined by the syllabus set by the examination boards.

By contrast, the curriculum-centered U.S. teachers work with the same group of students often for only one semester and rarely for longer than one year. In larger and more impersonal school settings, especially at the secondary level, they must depend on their curriculum as the heart of their instructional program. They do the best they can to design a program of study that will help them meet the needs of individual learners and that will be compatible with the next teacher's design for student learning. Currently, U.S. teachers favor a process approach which allows them to work with individual students across time on individual pieces of writing. They also work hard to model writer-like behaviors for their students--writing with them and sharing the writing they do.

Although the U.S. teachers mention the importance of a student-centered classroom and the importance of collaboration with their students as much as U.K. teachers do, we hypothesize that individualization must generally be enacted differently in the two countries. Most importantly, it is difficult for U.S. teachers, given the usual school structures in U.S. schools, to see and clearly understand how writing develops for individual students across years of time. In the U.S. students complain about moving from teacher to teacher because they believe different teachers have different expectations for their writing. The students think that teachers are idiosyncratic in their values. We suggest here that the bigger problem may be that U.S. teachers have

insufficient time to get to know the needs of their individual students and often cannot work with them across a long enough stretch to insure the kind of continuity the students need. The U.S. students are particularly adamant about needing individualized instruction. In a curriculum-centered educational environment, it makes perfect sense that students would be in the most serious need of personal attention. We are not claiming that U.S. students, especially in the classrooms of these highly successful teachers, do not receive individual attention. Clearly, they do. The point is that when we discuss individualized instruction in the U.S. and in the U.K., the possibilities are different given the two cultural contexts. Compare, for example, the description of individualization in U.K. secondary schools given by Medway (1980) with those in the U.S. given by Freedman (1987, pp. 92-107, 117-154) or Perl and Wilson (1986).

Accompanying the student-centered focus in the U.K. is an emphasis on imaginative writing, or what the students call writing based on personal experience. By contrast, there is an equally strong emphasis on analytic writing and critical thinking in the U.S. Both the teachers' reasons for teaching writing and the types of writing they most commonly assign support these emphases. In the U.S. the teachers' primary reason for teaching writing is to force their students to think for themselves and to connect what they are learning to their personal experiences. In the U.K. the teachers' primary reason for teaching writing is to allow their students to use their imaginations. In the U.S. analytic writing is associated with higher-level thinking and with the kinds of skills needed for academic success. Although consistent with a more impersonal school culture, this kind of writing is also consistent with the attempt of the American school system to prepare increasing numbers of students for university educations. In the U.K. most students leave school at the age of 16. Medway (1986) argues that there is an overemphasis on imaginative writing at the expense of analytic writing in the U.K. He finds that British students seem to have insufficient opportunities to reach beyond their immediate experiences and to think and write about ideas. By contrast, in the U.S., along with a more abstract and logical approach to thinking and schooling, imaginative writing and thinking may be undervalued, an argument put forth by Applebee et al. (1984).

Cultural differences aside, we can learn a number of things from the collective knowledge of these successful teachers and their students. The students are doing a lot of extended writing. The teachers believe strongly in the value of individualizing instruction, regardless of the organizational constraints that they face. The teachers dislike giving grades or marks, feeling that students learn little from this type of evaluation of their work. They also have little faith in the standard kind of teacher response to student writing, written comments on their work. In both countries the teachers spend a substantial amount of their teaching time discussing orally the topics about which their students will write.

The students in both countries are optimistic about their educational opportunities. They believe in their own ability to succeed in the system. Unlike their teachers, they feel that they learn most about how to write when they read their teachers' written comments on the final versions of their writing. In both cultural settings the students are more concerned with the evaluation of their learning than with the process of their learning. Students have more faith in their parents' abilities to help them with their writing than their teachers do.

Both the teachers and their students seemed to enjoy completing the surveys and to appreciate having the opportunity to express their opinions about the teaching of writing.

Many of the students, in particular, appreciated being able to tell someone about their teacher. As one U.S. student said:

> I would like to say I'm glad I was able to do this survey, it was an enjoyable experience. Like I mentioned before I enjoy writing very much thanks to my dear sweet teacher whose name I won't mention; but I would like to thank her and you for making it possible for [me] to do this survey. I also would like to thank her for introducing and really helping [me] into the world of writing. I know she won't see this but I still would like to thank her and I will do just that.

A U.K. student indicates her appreciation of her teacher's understanding of her work:

> My English teacher makes our lessons very interesting because she is interesting, interested in what we have to say, good fun and willing to have discussions. She is a fair marker and understands problems that I have in my work, when I have them. She is excellent at explaining work and a very nice lady.

The information that can be gleaned from a questionnaire study of this sort is necessarily limited. The cross-cultural differences pointed out by the participants in the surveys are now being explored through our observations in actual classrooms in the two countries. To collect parallel classroom data and to continue to get the perspectives of both teachers and their students, we have set up writing exchanges between classes of students in the U.S. and the U.K. In our reports of these exchanges we will compare both the nature of the writing the students do in the two countries (on the same general topics) and the classroom organizations that support instruction.

Footnotes

1. Since the survey, the number of NWP sites has risen to 169.

2. These divisions match the organization of the U.K. schools. In the British education system, most primary schools consist of the equivalent of U.S. grades 1 to 5; secondary schools consist of the equivalent of U.S. grades 6 to 12, with the first 3 grades considered the lower secondary school and the last 4 the upper secondary school. In the secondary school grade levels are called "forms," with the first form being the first year of the secondary school or the equivalent of U.S. grade 6, and so on through form 5 or grade 10. In U.K. schools most students leave the secondary school at age 16 or after the 5th form. Students who want to go on to a university or to improve their school record in order to obtain certain jobs commonly complete the last two years of the secondary school, usually called the lower and upper 6th forms, the equivalent of U.S. grades 11 and 12.

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